THE UKRAINIAN-JEWISH ENCOUNTER: CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

EDITED BY
WOLF MOSKOVICH AND ALTI RODAL

Jews and Slavs
Volume 25

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM
CENTER FOR SLAVIC LANGUAGES
AND LITERATURES

JEWS AND SLAVS

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Prof. Wolf Moskovich

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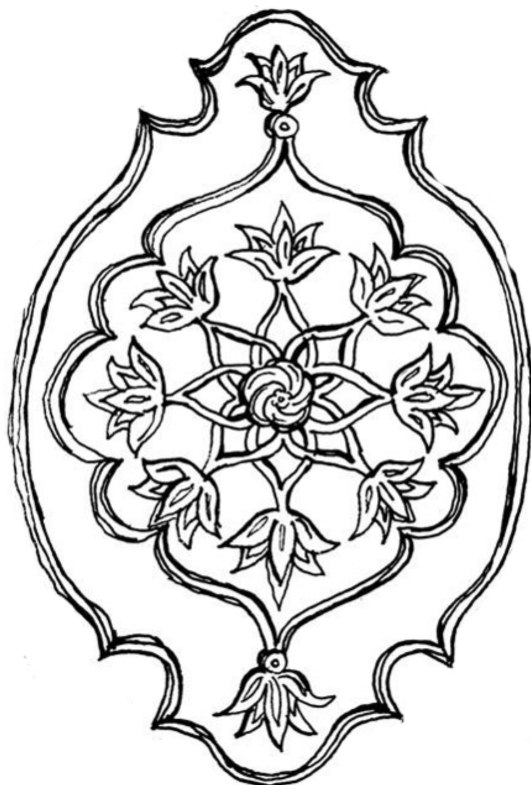

Arabesque motif from the cupola of the Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue

(from the article by Thomas C. Hubka "Ukrainian and Jewish Influences in the Art and Architecture of Pre-Modern Wooden Synagogues, 1600-1800" in this book)

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WITH APPRECIATION

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Cover Illustration (front): Alef- Beys by Isakhar Rybak, 1919
Cover Illustration (back): City Landscape
by Oleksandr Bohomazov, 1912-13

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INTRODUCTION

Alti Rodal (Co-Director, Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter)

This collection of essays focuses on how ethnic Ukrainians and Jews, living side by side over centuries, have interacted in various cultural domains. This perspective illuminates important aspects of the Ukrainian-Jewish relationship generally missed in historical and chronological accounts that tend to leap from crisis to crisis, from one episode of violence to another. Cultural interaction unfolded over time through daily, diverse, and localized encounters that had an enduring impact on both communities. Culture shapes so many key aspects of life, develops over long stretches of time, and brings to light the long periods of normal coexistence and the complexity and multifaceted nature of the relationship.

There are a number of challenges, however, in fashioning an account of Ukrainian-Jewish cultural interaction that avoids generalizations and the distortion of historical realities. Firstly, one has to take into account the considerable diversity in cultural interaction in the different regions that constitute the territory of contemporary Ukraine. Both Jews and ethnic Ukrainians, as stateless peoples, each in their way, were at different times subjects of several empires, regimes, and dominant cultures—each of which had far-reaching impact on their lives, including their internal cultural experience and their interaction with others. Prior to the First World War, the experience of Jews living in Tsarist Russia's Pale of Settlement contrasted starkly with that of Jews living in the Habsburg-ruled Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina and the region of Carpathian Rus'—as elaborated in Paul Robert Magocsi's context-setting essay for this volume. During the interwar years, the Jews on the territory of present-day Ukraine found themselves residing in four countries—in Polish-ruled Galicia, Romanian-ruled Bukovina, the Soviet Union, and democratic Czechoslovakia. This fluid and diverse historical experience encompasses a range of cultural interaction that cannot be understood without an appreciation of the broader political and social contexts in which these two peoples lived. Key considerations in this regard are the degree to which Jews and

Ukrainians identified with, or resisted being assimilated into, the various dominant cultures; and the extent to which they borrowed cultural features not only from each other but also from other groups inhabiting these multiethnic regions—in particular Poles, Russians, Romanians, Hungarians, ethnic Germans, Tatars, Armenians, and the Roma.

Another set of challenges relate to terminology and concepts, including, as noted by Magocsi, the very terms "Ukrainians" and "Ukrainian Jews." As he suggests, for the purpose of examining aspects of cultural interaction, it may be helpful to use the term "ethnic Ukrainians" to refer to those who identify as belonging to a Ukrainian "nationality" in the sense of an ethno-cultural collectivity (as distinct from citizens of the Ukrainian state), and to consider as "Ukrainian Jews" those Jews who had resided at some point in history on territories that comprise present-day Ukraine.

To enable a proper appreciation of the range of cultural interaction, it is also important to take into account the wide diversity within each of the two communities. Neither is homogeneous. Within each, there are marked differences in cultural expression, for example between those residing in large urban centres and the inhabitants of small towns and villages, and between those who are secular and those who are religiously traditional. Differences in socioeconomic status and education, and, as noted above, the degree of acculturation to dominant cultures are also critical factors influencing cultural expression and interaction with others.

A further challenge is that the term "culture" is in itself a generalized "umbrella" term embracing many different domains, such as art, music, folklore, language, literature, theatre, and cinema—to name only those emphasized in this volume. As each domain requires expert knowledge and interpretation, an examination of cultural interaction calls for a range of expertise and a multidisciplinary approach.

There are also challenges, and research opportunities, in that we are exploring relatively new terrain. To date there has been very little focused research on Ukrainian-Jewish cultural interaction, even though there are strong indications of mutual borrowing in a number of specific cultural domains, as demonstrated by the significant impact of the Ukrainian language on Yiddish, or the similarities in traditional music.

The pioneering conference entitled "The Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter: Cultural Interaction, Representation, and Memory," mounted by the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter initiative[1] in association with the Israel Museum and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in October 2010, provided a forum for scholars

from Israel, Ukraine, North America, and elsewhere, with expertise in a range of disciplines, to focus on aspects of Ukrainian-Jewish cultural interaction. The essays in this volume—largely based on the presentations given at the Jerusalem conference—treat a wide range of topics that may be grouped around the following three questions:

- In what ways did the Ukrainian and Jewish cultures, which existed in all their diversity side by side over centuries, influence each other? More specifically, what evidence is there of parallels or cross-cultural influences in particular cultural domains—for example in folklore, folk art, architecture, music, and language?
- What were the prevailing perceptions or images of the "Other" as depicted in the respective cultures—specifically in artistic representation, folklore, and literature?
- What approaches have been adopted by Jews and by non-Jews, both in the past and in recent years, to the study, preservation, remembrance, and revival of (or reconnection with) the Ukrainian-Jewish cultural heritage?

Cross-cultural Interaction

Responding to the first question above, many of the authors in this volume describe specific instances of cross-cultural influences, for example, Lyudmila Sholokhova on the influence of Ukrainian folk songs on Hasidic music; Wolf Moskovich on mutual borrowing between the Ukrainian and Yiddish languages, whether directly or through a third language; Boris Khaimovich on the presence of elements of Ukrainian folk art in synagogue wall paintings; and Thomas Hubka on the exterior architecture of eighteenth-century wooden synagogues as predominantly a product of the eastern European Polish/Ukrainian context

Also worth mentioning in this regard is a paper presented at the Jerusalem conference by lryna Serheyeva (Vernadsky National Library, Kyiv). This paper (not included in this volume) describes the influence of Ukrainian folk art traditions on Jewish ornamental folk art, as illustrated in *pinkasim* (Jewish community record books) from various regions in Ukraine and dating from the late eighteenth to the first quarter of the twentieth centuries. The decorations on these *pinkasim* reflect elements reminiscent of medieval Hebrew manuscripts and the art of European Jewish printing, combined with the traditions of illumination of Ukrainian manuscripts and folk motifs characteristic of Ukrainian folk ornament and decorative art. This example of Ukrainian influence on Jewish

cultural expression is particularly noteworthy, given the important place of the *pinkasim* in Jewish community life.

As might be expected, cross-cultural influences usually flowed from the majority Ukrainian culture to the minority Jewish culture, though there are many instances of reciprocal influences, as well as influences channelled to both peoples through a third culture—generally a politically dominant culture, such as the Polish, Russian, or Austrian. An example of the latter includes the parallel adoption within both Jewish and Ukrainian Christian art of the imperial double-headed eagle as an art motif to depict divine providence, as described by Ilia Rodov. Another shared response to the imperial context was the assertion of the respective national identities and aspirations of these two stateless peoples, expressed in the parallel cultural development of Ukrainian and Jewish “national styles” in art in the first decades of the twentieth century, as described by Vita Susak.

Such parallel developments often reflected actual interaction among artists of Jewish and Ukrainian background—especially evident in the modernist visual arts, such as the extraordinarily vibrant avant-garde scene in Kyiv in the 1910s and 1920s. Dmytro Horbachov in his essay describes the circle of young Kultur-Lige artists of Jewish background[2] who trained with prominent teachers of cubo-futurist modernism and abstractionism, and who, together with young artists of ethnic Ukrainian background, explored innovative ways of blending traditional folk motifs and local scenes with avant-garde ideas. Similarly, interaction among artisans at times took the form of working together on projects, such as wood carved items or wall paintings in churches and synagogues, as mentioned in Vita Susak's essay. In his essay on the construction of the Israelite Hospital in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, Sergey Kravtsov describes a direct interaction across ethnic boundaries within the "international" team that jointly carried out this landmark architectural project.

Other trends in cross-cultural influences indicate borrowing by both Ukrainians and Jews from common sources—such as from Roma music, from Russian or Polish folklore and literature, or from common biblical sources—as exemplified in the use of Jewish mythology in the cinematography of Oleksandr Dovzhenko (described in Serhii Trymbach's essay). These various facets of interaction underline the complex multicultural political contexts, as well as the shared ancient traditions that shaped both Jewish and ethnic Ukrainian cultural expression.

Two papers presented at the Jerusalem conference—one by Larisa Fialkova (University of Haifa), the other by David Assaf (Tel Aviv University)—are not

included in this volume because of commitments to publish elsewhere. They should be mentioned in this introduction, however, because they illuminate significant aspects of cultural interaction in the realms of folklore and religious life on the territory of Ukraine.

Fialkova's paper examined how the legendary Ukrainian Robin Hood figure, Oleksa Dovbush, who is said to have roamed the Carpathian Mountains in the eighteenth century, is depicted in both Ukrainian and Jewish folklore and literature. Interestingly, the Jewish sources—in which Dovbush is said to have encountered the Ba'al Shem Tov, the legendary founder of the Hasidic movement – are influenced by the Ukrainian sources, but introduce modifications and changes in emphasis. For example: the “noble robber” plunders the rich of all backgrounds, including wealthy Jews, but not poor Jews; there is mutual recognition by the two legendary heroes of each other’s powers—the Ba'al Shem Tov acknowledging the prowess of the Ukrainian folk hero and Dovbush perceiving the holy Jew’s spiritual force; and there are miraculous interventions and encounters in which the robber’s worldview is changed, causing him to repent in the presence of the Jewish holy man. These legends are picked up, and modified once more, in post-World War II Jewish literature, including Israeli ballad poems and fiction and Yiddish poetry, generally produced by Jewish writers originating from towns in Galicia or other locations in Ukraine, in what Fialkova refers to as a “cross-cultural migration of plots and images” and “two sides of a single phenomenon in neighbouring cultures.”[3]

Assaf's presentation on Hasidism in the Pale of Settlement refers to Ukraine as “the cradle of Hasidism…where its historic image was shaped.” Assaf also notes, however, that the attempt to portray Hasidism—a Jewish revivalist movement that originated in Podolia and Volhynia in the mid-eighteenth century — within the framework of a political geographic entity is methodologically problematic, as this religious movement was not circumscribed by political boundaries. Other scholars have observed that while Hasidism drew its inspiration essentially from earlier Jewish sources (in particular the Kabbalah or Jewish esoteric mystical religious tradition), it also incorporated features prevalent in the surrounding cultures. For example, the traditions of faith healers and natural medicine, common in Ukrainian culture, have a direct parallel in Hasidism; and as the movement grew, other cross-cultural influences were manifest, such as the adaptation of Ukrainian folk melodies as Hasidic *nigunim* (“melodies”), described in Lyudmila Sholokhova’s presentation in this volume. From a cultural perspective, it is noteworthy that Hasidism originated in and flourished on Ukrainian lands. Hasidic writings were published in dozens of

Hebrew and Yiddish printing presses that functioned in towns in Ukraine beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and major Hasidic dynasties and centers were established in over forty towns, as well as in over a hundred lesser centers across Ukraine.[4] As a result, this segment of the Jewish population figured prominently in daily Ukrainian-Jewish encounters, highlighting a strong sense of difference based on religious lifestyle, but also a degree of familiarity and a shared sense of attachment to faith and tradition. The Hasidic movement continued to flourish on Ukrainian territory that came under Soviet rule until the repression of religion in the late 1920s, and up to the beginning of World War II in Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia.

The Depiction of the "Other" in Cultural Output

Another set of essays addresses the question of the representation of the "Other" in cultural expression. Overall, the findings on how Jews are depicted in Ukrainian art, folklore, and literature indicate the prevalence of negative stereotypes, but also empathetic depictions—not very different from how Jews have been portrayed in the culture of most other European peoples.

In an earlier issue of *Jews and Slavs*,[5] John-Paul Himka examined the depiction of Jews in medieval and early modern Ukrainian iconography and found that a positive portrayal of the Jews is prevalent in the form of Old Testament figures, the Hebrew prophets in particular, and that Jewish elements are acknowledged in the appearance of Jesus and Mary, though not of the apostles. He also observed, however, that core themes in anti-Jewish polemics, such as Jews as Christ-killers and as enemies of Christianity, are also included in the iconographic imagery. On the other hand, he noted that Ukrainian icons have not incorporated many other anti-Jewish themes found in western European Christian art, such as the association of Jews with the Antichrist, or the blood libel. A future-oriented link in the sphere of religion may be made between Himka's essay and the concluding essay in this volume by Myroslav Marynovych on the potential of the Jewish-Christian dialogue since the 1960s—in particular, the new emphasis on the brotherly roots of the two religions since the *Nostra Aetate* document of the Second Vatican Council in 1965—to contribute to the improvement of contemporary Ukrainian-Jewish relations.

Myroslav Shkandrij's findings are that the representation of Jews in Ukrainian literature of the last two centuries has included anti-Semitic stereotypes, but also empathetic depictions of Jews. He describes how several Ukrainian authors have gone further to challenge and transform prevailing

stereotypes. Noteworthy also in the literary domain are instances of cooperation between Ukrainian and Jewish writers in Soviet Ukraine during the 1920s; prewar and postwar writers of Jewish background who have identified as Ukrainian; and the treatment of Holocaust-related themes in Ukrainian literature since independence.

In her focus on the literary depictions of Jews, Amelia Glaser examines the literary influence that the Ukrainian-born Russian writer Nikolai Gogol had on one of his readers, the celebrated Ukrainian-born Yiddish humourist Solomon Naumovich Rabinovich (Sholem Aleichem). While noting the commonalities in the use of humour and the adoption of the "tears through laughter" stance in the face of fateful situations, Glaser describes how the two authors inevitably depict Jews very differently, with Rabinovich creating characters that are at times a foil to Gogol's anti-Semitic caricatures. In addition to differing perspectives, Gogol and Sholem Aleichem reflect the realities of two different periods—the beginning of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century—the latter marked by major socioeconomic upheavals and pogroms against Jews in the Russian Empire.

Yaroslav Hrytsak (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv) presented a paper at the conference on the depiction of Jews in Ukrainian folklore. [Regretfully, this paper is not included in the present volume because a completed version was not available in time for publication.] Drawing on Ivan Franko's rich collection of Galician Ruthenian folk proverbs, Hrytsak found many Judeophobic stereotypes, including the depiction of Jews as cowards, inept, impure, exploiters and tormentors of Christians, alien because of their religion, dishonest, inherently corrupt, and undeserving of sympathy. Hrytsak observed that the high concentration of Jews in Galicia, the widespread poverty among both Jews and Christian peasants in the region, and the challenges of modernization and nation building gave rise to anti-Jewish (as well as anti-Polish) sentiments, which were reflected in the local folklore. Hrytsak noted, however, that there were also proverbs that presented Jews in a positive manner, such as the superstition that seeing a Jew was a good luck omen, or admiration for the Jews' perseverance and righteous obedience to Jewish law. Also noteworthy, in Hrytsak's view, is the fact that despite the negative stereotypes in the folklore, there were relatively few anti-Jewish pogroms in Galicia in the last decades of the Habsburg Empire and in the immediate aftermath of its collapse—in sharp contrast to the large number of pogroms in neighbouring territories during this same period.

In order to include discussion of how ethnic Ukrainians are depicted in Jewish literature, summary highlights were provided at the Jerusalem conference of Israel Bartal’s 1988 pioneering article (“On Top of a Volcano")[6], as well as other writings on this topic. Bartal's overall finding, based on his examination of eastern European Jewish literature written in Yiddish, Hebrew, as well as other languages, is that non-Jews are depicted "according to a system of ethnic stereotypes, and are incorporated into a set of standard models of the encounter between Jews and gentiles."[7] More specifically, the depiction of non-Jews in Jewish literature reveals a range of attitudes, including a lack of differentiation between members of one non-Jewish ethnic group and another (all referred to simply as *goyim*) and viewing non-dominant nationalities (such as Ukrainians) as part of the landscape or as part of the background to the social and economic activities of the *shtetl* [small town with a significant Jewish population]. Non-Jews also tend to be depicted in a fixed cast of settings (such as the marketplace) and as stock characters (such as the devoted maid who spoke Yiddish, the trustworthy village sorceress knowledgeable in folk medicine, and the *shabbes-goy* whose role was to light the oven on the Sabbath). Attitudes reflected in the literature range from an ideologically based admiration for peasants seen as productive and relating positively with nature and the land, to condescension and fear of the illiterate peasant prone to drunkenness and violence or the anti-Semitic government official. Also reflected in Jewish literature is the traditional recoiling from intimate relations (especially romantic ones) between Jews and non-Jews—in this case, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians.

Two essays treat the topic of mutual representation of Jews and Ukrainians during and after World War II. Ola Hnatiuk's finding, based on an examination of the memoirs of contemporary Lviv citizens, is that their accounts of interethnic relations in the year 1939—specifically between Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews—are shaped by the cultural identity of the authors and embedded stereotypes of the "Other." Ilana Rosen focuses on how former Carpatho-Rusyn Jews living in Israel remember prewar Ukrainian-Jewish relations, and notes the prevalence of perceptions of the non-Jewish neighbours as rural, traditional, and religious, and in some instances as exceptionally devoted and familiar with Jewish religious traditions. There is also, however, the remembrance of occasional charged encounters, though these are remembered with a tinge of humour.

The Study, Preservation, Commemoration, and Revival of Interest in the Ukrainian-Jewish Cultural Heritage

Responding to the third question that guided the Jerusalem conference on Ukrainian-Jewish culture, Valerii Dymshits's essay tracks the experience and elements of continuity and differences in three sets of ethnographic expeditions to *shtetls* in Podolia and Volhynia, which were undertaken in 1912/1914, in the 1980s, and more recently between 2004 and 2008. The focus is not only on approaches and findings relating to the study of the Jewish heritage, but also on the impact on those engaged in such study in strengthened connections to that heritage.

From another perspective, Benyamin Lukin's essay examines the approaches adopted by non-Jewish Ukrainian and Russian art historians in the Tsarist, Soviet, and post-Soviet periods to the collection, preservation, and study of traditional Jewish art forms produced on the territory of Ukraine. While indicating why there has been criticism of the studies produced by these art historians, Lukin recognizes the valuable contribution they have made to preserving the record of a world of Jewish creativity that was destroyed in the Holocaust, and also acknowledges further work in this field accomplished in independent Ukraine since 1991.

Two essays treat the subject of Judaica in contemporary museums in Ukraine. In his essay, Roman Chmelyk describes the history and contents of the rich Judaica collection at the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lviv and the exhibitions that this museum has shown internationally since the 1990s. Leonid Finberg provides an overview of several newly established Jewish museums in Ukraine, including a description of their content, the background to their creation, the personalities involved, and the challenges they face. He also offers reflective observations on the role of museums in society and, in particular, of Jewish museums in post-Holocaust, post-Soviet Ukraine.

Taras Vozniak addresses an added question of contemporary relevance (and of particular interest to the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter)—the extent to which the Jewish cultural heritage on Ukrainian lands should be considered an integral part of the overall cultural heritage of contemporary Ukraine. In a sense, this possibility is challenged by the contemporary trend to stress divided memory in commemoration projects, such as those described by Georgii Kasianov in relation to Babyn Yar. Kasianov's essay describes how the mass killings that took place in 1941-43 at Babyn Yar were conceived and represented in commemorative projects—from determined avoidance of mentioning the Jewish victims in

Soviet times, to the current manipulation of history through competing memory projects on this site since Ukrainian independence.

The articles in this volume highlight the richness and diversity of the relationship between Jews and Ukrainians in cultural domains, while also drawing attention to entrenched mutual stereotypes that have affected the Ukrainian-Jewish relationship over centuries. The organizers of the Jerusalem conference and the editors of this volume see their efforts in advancing the exploration of the complex and multifaceted cultural encounter of these two peoples as a way of increasing knowledge, enriching understanding, challenging preconceptions and stereotypes, and contributing to a truthful and empathetic accounting of the relationship in the past in order to open avenues for strengthened mutual understanding in the future.

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[1] The Ukrainian Jewish Encounter (UJE) is a privately organized, multinational initiative launched in 2008 as a collaborative project involving Ukrainians of Jewish and Christian heritages, and others, in Ukraine, Israel, and the diasporas. Its work engages scholars, civic leaders, artists, governments, and the broader public in an effort to promote stronger and deeper relations between the two peoples, nurtured by an appreciation of the breadth, complexity, and diversity of Ukrainian-Jewish relations over the centuries.

[2] The Kultur-Lige (Culture League) was the name of the umbrella institution, comprising a number of cultural, social, and civic organizations, founded in Kyiv in 1917, concurrently with the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic by the Central Rada (Council). The aim was to nurture an autonomous Jewish culture alongside a strong Ukrainian national culture, as a way of counteracting the domination by Russian culture. The Kultur-Lige promoted the development of contemporary secular Yiddish culture in a number of spheres, including education, literature, theatre, art, and music. By the summer of 1918, the Kultur-Lige had gained a leading position in Ukrainian Jewish social and cultural life. Branches existed in over 100 Ukrainian towns and *shtetls*, where they founded and administered schools, kindergartens, evening courses for adults, libraries, drama studios, and music circles. The Kultur-Lige was best known for its independent publishing house, which put out a journal and books in Yiddish and Hebrew, and especially for its art school and exhibitions. In an effort to create new Jewish art, members of the Kultur-Lige synthesized images of traditional art with Ukrainian avant-garde ideas. The Kyiv Kultur-Lige, which added to the richness and diversity of the city's avant-garde artistic production, existed until 1925, when a number of its members left in reaction to its Sovietization, though the publishing house and art school survived into the thirties. See entry for "Kultur-lige" by Hillel Kazovsky in the *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe:* http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Kultur-lige (accessed August

31, 2011); and “Kyiv to Paris: Ukrainian Art in the European Avant-Garde, 1905-1930,” by Myroslav Shkandrij: http://www.zoryafineart.com/publications/view/11.

[3] Fialkova, Larisa. “Oleksa Dovbush: An Alternative Biography of the Ukrainian Hero Based on Jewish Sources,” *Fabula* 52 (1/2) (2011): 92-108.

[4] Assaf’s account and related maps in the *YIVO Encyclopedia* entry on “Hasidism” indicate that there were some forty major Hasidic centers on the territory of present-day Ukraine, including: Bar, Belz, Berdichev, Bratslav, Chernobyl, Chortkiv, Horodenka, Kiev, Komarno, Korets, Kosov/Kosiv, Kuty, Medzhibizh, Mezhyrich, Munkatsh, Nadverne, Ostrog, Pohorbishch, Polnoye, Premishlan, Rashkev, Rovne, Ruzhyn, Sadagora, Sasov, Savran-Bendery, Shpole, Skver, Stepin, Stratin, Strelisk, Sudylkiv, Tolne, Tulchin, Uman, Vyzhnyts, Zhitomir, and Zhydachov. See http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/arti cle.aspx/Hasidism. For an account of many smaller centers of Hasidism, see Marcin Wodziński, Uriel Gellman, “Toward a New Geography of Hasidism,” http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10835-013-9185-7.

[5] "Jews in Ukrainian Sacral Art of the Fourteenth through Eighteenth Centuries," *Jews and Slavs* 19 (2008): 211-18.

[6] Bartal, Israel “On Top of a Volcano: Jewish-Ukrainian Co-existence as Depicted in Modern East European Jewish Literature,” in *Jewish–Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective*, eds. Peter J. Potichnyj and Howard Aster (Edmonton and Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1988).

[7] *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* s.v. “Relations between Jews and Non-Jews: Literary Perspectives.”

Setting the Context: Terminology, Regional Diversity, and the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter

Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto)

The very topic of this on-going project, the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter, has from the outset raised several conceptual problems. First, can one legitimately speak of Ukrainians and Jews as if they are distinct, self-perceived corporate entities in the past as well as in the present? In other words, do individuals that others define as Ukrainians and Jews actually feel themselves to be part of a group; and do they somehow act in their daily lives in a manner that reflects and represents a so-called group, or national or ethnic characteristics? And what do we mean by Jews in Ukraine, or Ukrainian Jews? Is there such a phenomenon, and if so, how does one define that phenomenon? And who are Ukrainians? Persons with definable Ukrainian ethno-linguistic characteristics, or all persons, regardless of ethno-linguistic origin, who are citizens of a state today called Ukraine?

For purposes of this discussion, let us adopt the following definitions, which I believe govern the understanding behind what we are calling the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter; namely, that "Ukrainian" refers to a group whose members identify as belonging to the Ukrainian nationality. In general, I prefer to use the term *ethnic Ukrainian* to distinguish such people from *citizens of Ukraine*, who technically include the country's entire population, regardless of ethno-linguistic or national background. The terms *Jews in Ukraine* or *Ukrainian Jews* would seem to be at first glance somewhat easier to define; namely, the terms refer to persons of Jewish religion or heritage who were born or live in Ukraine. But what about Jews of the historic past who lived at a time when Ukraine as a state did not exist? For purposes of these remarks as well and for the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter, a rather anachronistic approach is being adopted. Persons of Jewish background are designated as *Ukrainian Jews* or *Jews from Ukraine* if they have resided at some point in history on the territory of present-day Ukraine—from earliest times to the present, regardless whether a state called Ukraine existed when the Jews in question lived there.

Such an understanding does *not* necessarily coincide with how each of the groups in question has perceived itself. Instead, there exists what may be called a perceptual disconnect. On the one hand, ethnic Ukrainians consider their historic homeland to have always been Ukraine, a territory that only in the course of the twentieth century became a clearly defined, and eventually independent, state. On the other hand, the Jews in question are part of a world-wide diaspora, one branch of which, called Ashkenazim, had until recently inhabited large parts of central and eastern Europe (***Map 1***) including areas which—from their perspective—have only recently "become" Ukraine. In those cases where some more specific territorial origin is called for, the general and often vague terms that one encounters to depict the places where Ukrainian Jews lived include: the Pale of Settlement; "Russia"; in more recent times the Soviet Union; or in the case of Hasidic adherents, no geographic place at all, but rather some rabbinic dynasty with which one is associated, such as Belz (Rokeah), Bratslav, Chernobyl (Tversky), Savran (Mosheh Tsvi), Zlotsev, Munkatch, Ruzhin and Sadagora (Friedman), or Vyzhnits. Some Jews may identify with a specific region, such as Galicia, Bukovina, Carpathian Rus', or Crimea. The point is that for Jews, the concept of a Ukraine is very rarely mentioned as an identifier to describe the origins of oneself or of one's ancestors. Russian Jew, Polish Jew, Soviet Jew, Galitsianer, Krymchak, a Belzer or Munkatcher dynastic follower, but likely not the descriptor *Ukrainian Jew*.

Various regional and country names do, nonetheless, reflect real differences within what we are defining here as Ukrainian Jewry. In many ways, the Jewish cultural mindset derives from geopolitical structures that date from the late eighteenth century to the outbreak of World War I. That period began with the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (***Map 2***), which took place between 1772 and 1795. After the latter date Poland-Lithuania ceased to exist, and those lands, which until that time had belonged to the former Commonwealth and were annexed to the Russian Empire, became part of what was known as the Pale of Settlement (***Map 3***). Encompassing the present-day countries of Lithuania, Belarus, and most of Ukraine, the Pale had the highest number of Ashkenazi Jews anywhere in the world. The nearly four million (1897) Jews in the Pale, including the estimated two million who emigrated from there to North America (especially to the northeastern United States) between 1897 and 1917, described themselves—as their descendants do to this day—as Jews from Russia, or Russian Jews.

Map 1. *Jews and Armenians in East Central Europe, ca. 1900*

The Pale referred to those imperial Russian provinces (Volhynia, Podolia, Kyiv, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Taurida in Ukraine) where Jews were permitted to reside (***Map 4***). In effect, with few exceptions, the Russian imperial government banned Jews from residing beyond the Pale; that is, they could only reside legally in that part of the Russian Empire annexed during the partitions of Poland (1772, 1792, 1795). Even within the Pale there were

Map 2. *The Partitions of Poland, 1772–1795*

various restrictions on where Jews could reside, and beginning in the 1880s they were temporarily banned from moving as first time residents to rural villages. It was also within the Pale, and specifically in those tsarist provinces located in Ukraine, where the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1881-82 took place.

Despite the restrictions and periodic violence, as in the Kishinev pogrom in 1903, there were places within the Pale where Jewish communities continued to flourish and even to increase in size. This was particularly the case in the Crimean peninsula where, beginning in the 1880s, Ashkenazim from other parts of Ukraine and the Pale began to settle in large numbers alongside the Turkic-

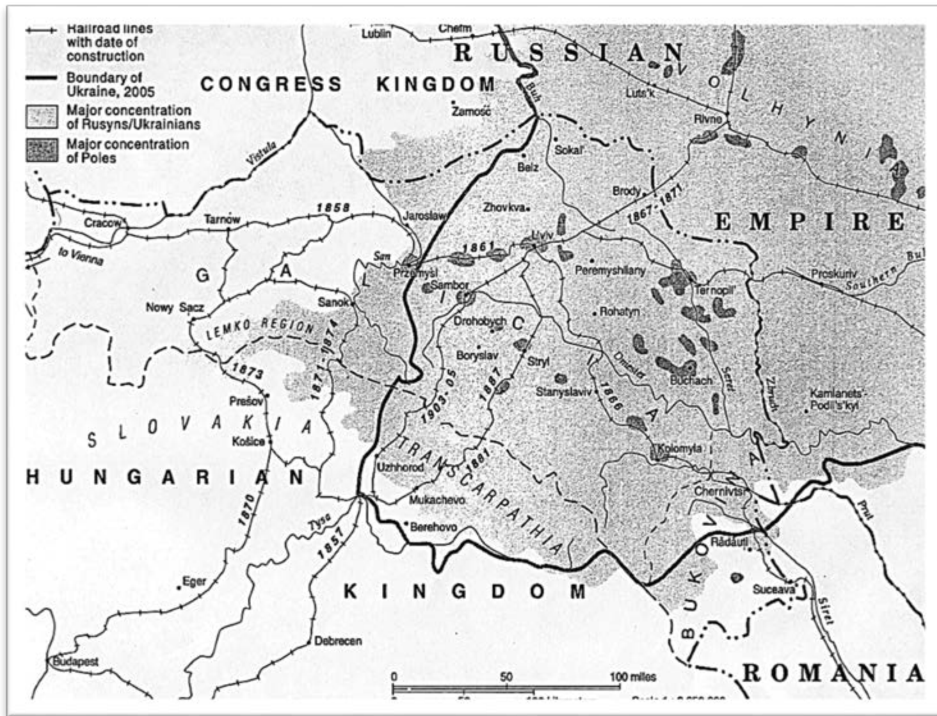
Map 3. The Pale of Settlement, ca.1855

speaking Krymchak Jews and Karaites whose Crimean communities date from at least the thirteenth century.

In stark contrast to the Jews living in Russia's Pale of Settlement were those residents in present-day Ukraine who found themselves after the 1770s within the Habsburg-ruled Austro-Hungarian Empire. As in imperial Russia's Pale of Settlement, a very high percentage of Jews were among the inhabitants of the provinces of Galicia and Bukovina within the Austrian "half" of the Habsburg realm and in the historic region of Carpathian Rus' in the Hungarian "half" (***Map 5***). The Jews in these areas

Map 4. *The Peoples of Ukraine, ca. 1900*

were able to reap the advantages of Emperor Joseph II's reforms in the 1770s and 1780s, which provided legal equality for all citizens regardless of their religion. Emancipated Jews were able to take advantage of full freedom of movement and settlement anywhere in the empire, which allowed many of them, among other things, to improve their economic status. The more enterprising flocked to universities, in particular the medical and legal professions, in which Jews excelled within pre-World War I Habsburg Austria-Hungary. When, in the 1880s, the danger of pogroms rocked the southern part of the Russian Empire, in particular Ukraine, Jews from Russia's



Map 5. *Ukrainian Lands in Austria-Hungary, ca. 1875*

Pale of Settlement sought permanent refuge by crossing the border and settling—at least initially—in Austrian-ruled Galicia and Bukovina.

When the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empire ceased to exist in the waning years of World War I (1917-18), the Jews of present-day Ukraine found themselves in four new states: the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia (***Map 6***). Those in the former Russian Empire were now in the Bolshevik-ruled Soviet Ukrainian Republic of the Soviet Union. Soviet policies had both a positive and negative impact on their lives. Religious Jews and their institutions were suppressed, and petty merchants and retail shop owners were put out of business. On the other hand, Soviet law lifted all legal restrictions against Jews as a group, with the result that hundreds of thousands were able to make successful careers in Soviet institutions, whether in government, universities, scholarly research, or industrial management sectors.

Jews from Ukraine in former Austro-Hungarian lands found themselves after World War I in Poland—to which Galicia was annexed; Romania—to which Bukovina was

annexed; and Czechoslovakia—to which Carpathian Rus' was annexed. During the subsequent interwar years of the twentieth century, the pre-World War I Habsburg tolerance was replaced by restrictions, especially in higher educational institutions, against the Jews of Polish-ruled Galicia and Romanian-ruled Bukovina, while in democratic Czechoslovakia Jews were able to achieve economic, social, and educational advancement that was not even available in pre-World War I Habsburg Hungary.

What conclusions can we draw and what recommendations may be made on the basis of the foregoing remarks? The first conclusion has to do with the very formulation of *Ukrainian Jewry*. If we are to use that concept as an analytical tool, then we must

Map 6. *Ukrainian Lands, 1923*

accept the fact of Ukraine's regional diversity and its significant impact on the country's Jewish inhabitants. Clearly, the frequently negative experience of Jews in Russia's Pale of Settlement during the nineteenth century is not the same as the flourishing world of Galician and Bukovinian Jewish life under Habsburg rule in the neighbouring Austro-Hungarian Empire. And whereas pogroms were characteristic occurrences at certain times in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in many parts of Ukraine as well as in eastern and central Europe in general, one territory

in present-day Ukraine, Transcarpathia (historic Subcarpathian Rus'), never experienced pogroms or even other forms of violence which some Jewish historians classify as "excesses."[1]

A somewhat related conclusion—and recommendation—is the need to move away from the simplistic notion that the historic past of eastern European Jewry is little more than the story of unmitigated tragedy. The Jewish-American scholar Steven J. Zipperstein best summed up this problem in an essay on Holocaust historiography:

> In the absence of historical work, in the wake of fierce, definitive immigrant memories about what life back there was like, and in the aftermath of the Shoah, pervasive premonitions of horrors regarding Eastern Europe were conflated and granted a grim prescience: Nazi horrors and tsarist pogroms meshed in the often sparse, repetitive narratives that Jews tended to tell about this vast complex region. The distance between life in Vilna [the incredible intellectually productive world epitomized by the interwar YIVO Institute] and death in Treblinka tended to narrow in such accounts, as if these were differences in detail, not substance.[2]

To the degree that Ukraine is part of this east European world, the manner in which its very name is treated becomes symptomatic of what Zipperstein is saying and, therefore, a matter of concern. Alas, stereotypes are hard to overcome, especially when they are embedded in cultural discourse that goes back centuries. Hence, the medieval designation in Jewish sources for the Slavic lands in central and eastern Europe—including all of Ukraine—was *Knaan* (Canaan), with the implication that it was "the land of slaves." As Max Weinreich has reminded us, "the history of Yiddish and the history of Ashkenaz are identical."[3] Nevertheless, not in all periods or in all places did European Jews speak Yiddish. I was particularly struck by Benjamin Harshav's discussion, in his excellent monograph, *The Meaning of Yiddish,* where he lists the various other languages used by Europe's Jews, from Italian to Russian to English and many others in between. Harshav's list excludes, however, one otherwise very influential language, which was not only spoken by large numbers of Ashkenazim but also was one that had an important impact on the later development of Yiddish. The unmentionable language not on Harshav's list was Ukrainian, since traditionally most Jews referred to it not by its name—as they did Polish, or Dutch, or Czech, etc.—but simply as "Goyish."[4]

Even within the Jewish world itself, the unmentionable Ukrainian lands took on especially negative characteristics. I have in mind here the *Galitsianer*, the term used to describe not only the Jews of the historic province of Austrian Galicia, but also—at

least in terms of Yiddish dialects—Jews living farther east in parts of Right Bank Ukraine. In contrast to "superior" German Jews and, although easterners, the "more sophisticated" Litvaks, the term *Galitsianer*—to quote the recent *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*—is a cultural identifier bearing, for the most part, negative connotations: "…a troublemaker, a shrewd operator, a money-grubber, a religious fanatic, a spineless compromiser, a speaker of popular vulgar Yiddish, and someone ashamed of his or her origins who liked to pose as an Austrian."[5]

Nomenclature, as we all know, has enormous symbolic as well as instrumental value. The subject of our inquiry should be Ukrainian Jews, or the Jews of Ukraine. And place names, whether towns or historic regions, should reflect usage in the country where they are located today. To be certain, we should be aware of the reality of numerous name variants for virtually every city, town, and village in central and eastern Europe, but out of respect for present-day realities—not to mention practical matters—I would suggest we consider using Ukrainian names for places within the borders of Ukraine. To take but one of many possible examples, we should not be afraid to use Lviv (with perhaps the Yiddish alternatives of Lemberek or Lvuv in parentheses), but not Polish Lwów or Russian Lvov. With regard to historic regions, the more accurate Kievan Rus' or Carpathian Rus', should be used, not Kievan Russia or Carpathian Russia. Being more sensitive to terminology and its consistent use would certainly be of great help in our common efforts to eliminate unnecessary and at times harmful misperceptions.

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[1] Heifetz, Elias. *The Slaughter of The Jews in the Ukraine in 1919* (New York, 1921). The English language edition of this book makes a distinction between *pogroms,* in which there is loss of life, and *excesses,* where there is only material damage.

[2] Zipperstein, Steven J. *Imagining Russian Jewry: Memory, History, Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 94.

[3] Weinreich, Max. *History of the Yiddish Language*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 4.

[4] Harshav, Benjamin. *The Meaning of Yiddish* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), xiii.

[5] *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* s.v. "Galitsianer."

Ukrainian and Jewish Influences in the Art and Architecture of Pre-Modern Wooden Synagogues, 1600-1800

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The wall paintings that blanket the prayer halls of eighteenth-century Polish/Ukrainian wooden synagogues reveal dense and variegated patterns of visual imagery and decorative motifs surrounding tablets inscribed with citations from religious texts (***fig. 1***). The paintings defy traditional aesthetic and thematic categories, as they interweave different types and styles of Jewish art. This paper offers a framework for interpreting this complex artistic ensemble composed of sources both Jewish and Gentile, Ukrainian and Polish, contemporary and archaic, local and foreign, and elite and vernacular. The intent of this article is to demonstrate that these diverse sources reflect their cosmopolitan, multicultural Ukrainian/Polish context and the complexity of the Jewish diaspora cultural experience.[1]

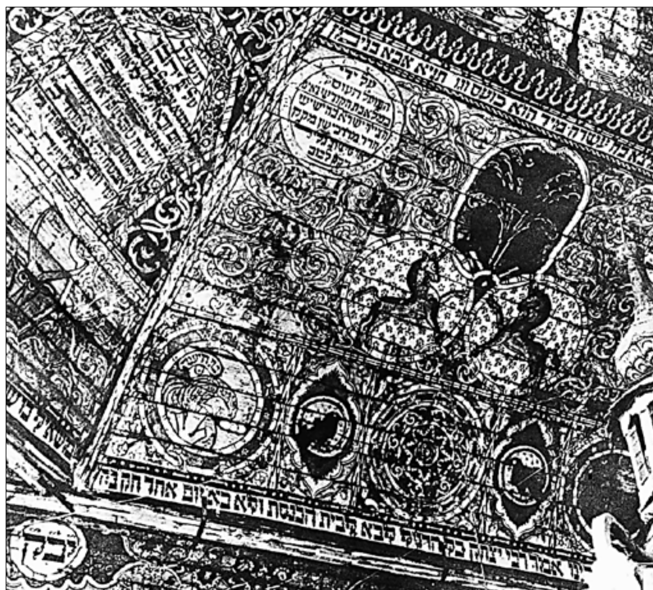

Fig. 1. *Wall paintings with animals and artist signature.*
West ceiling, Hvizdets'/ Gwoździec Synagogue (central Ukraine).

A Context for Interpretation

For over one hundred years, art and architecture historians have struggled to interpret the architecture and particularly the wall paintings of Ukrainian/Polish wooden synagogues (***fig. 2***). Before their almost total destruction by the Nazis beginning in 1939, these buildings and their paintings were documented by researchers who interpreted them as either a form of Ukrainian or Polish folk art, related to their eastern European cultural context, or as Jewish art, produced by a pre-emancipation *shtetl* Jewry. In both interpretations, the creation of this seemingly exotic synagogue art was often attributed to the negative pressures of impoverishment, pogroms, and exile, which were sometimes associated with messianic themes in Judaism.[2] Although recent scholarship has largely discredited this attribution of negative inspiration behind the creation of the wall paintings, there is still little consensus about their overall meaning and interpretation.

Fig. 2. *West façade showing entrance. Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue, photo ca. 1900.*

The wooden synagogues and their paintings can be interpreted from a range of analytical perspectives that differentiate between Ukrainian/Polish and Jewish contributions. One may broadly see this material-cultural combination as a dialectical relationship between exterior Ukrainian/Polish architecture and Jewish interior architecture and wall paintings (***fig. 3***). Yet upon closer inspection, this basic dialectical interpretation is more overlapping and complex. While the exotic-looking wooden exterior is a distinct product of its eastern European Ukrainian/Polish context, it is Polish/Ukrainian in an unmistakably Jewish way. On the inside, the prayer hall is a distinctly Jewish place of worship yet the interior architecture is also deeply informed by Polish/Ukrainian contributions to the overall spatial and decorative framework. This article focuses on the wall paintings—the most distinctly Jewish contribution of the interior. Yet, as we will see, it is a liturgical art reflective of its complex multicultural context, both Jewish and Ukrainian/Polish.

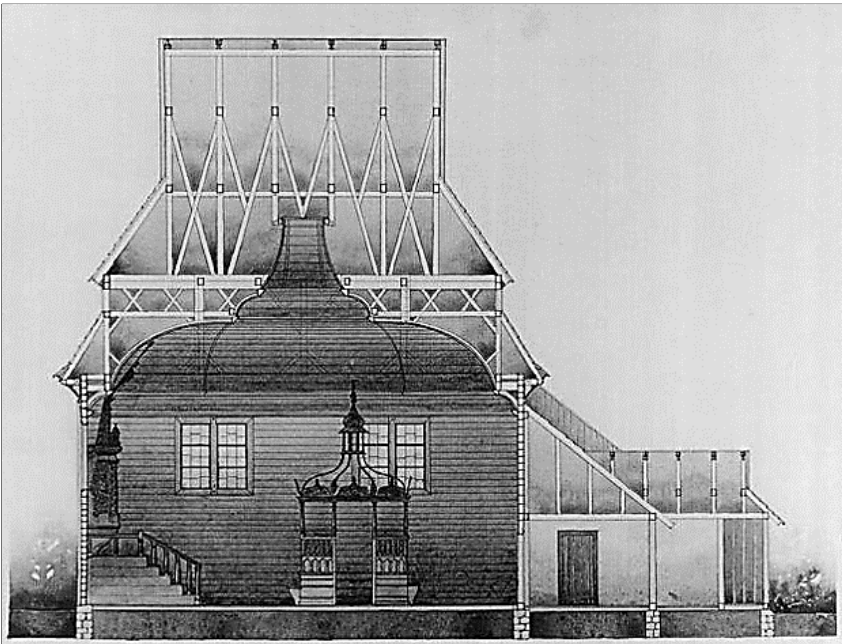

Fig. 3. *Section looking south, Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue.*

Underlying the analysis of the wall paintings are three assumptions or background premises developed in previous research. While these premises may certainly be debated, there is not sufficient time to present proofs or evidence for these assertions.

> *(1) The wall paintings are an expression of mainstream liturgical art.* The overall uniformity of the wall paintings over a wide area of the pre-nineteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth indicates that they were not produced by isolated, peripheral, or radical elements in the rabbinical/political/commercial establishment, but rather by mainstream institutional constituencies within the communities, supportive of a professional class of Jewish artists, probably working in guild-like associations.[3]
>
> *(2) Western/central Ukraine was a central locus, a hearth of Jewish liturgical artistic development.* While interior aintings phave been recorded in wooden synagogues from all parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the oldest and most unified expressions of these paintings were concentrated in the Lviv, Podolia, and Volhynia regions of present-day western/central Ukraine.[4]
>
> *(3) This particular synagogue painting tradition was abandoned by the early nineteenth century.* The dominant forms of synagogue art declined rapidly in the latter half of the eighteenth century and were largely abandoned by 1800. This decline roughly coincided with the rise of the Haskalah and Hasidic movements.[5]

A Multilayered Hybridity

Two contrasting artistic sources or influences dominate the complex expression of the wooden synagogue paintings: 1) an older strata of Ashkenazi visual imagery closely related to the liturgical themes in the paintings, and 2) a diverse group of "cosmopolitan" artistic sources reflective of the full range and history of the multicultural Jewish diaspora experience.

Fig. 4. *Painted prayer panel. West wall, Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue.*

Ashkenazi Sources

For a period of almost three hundred years, beginning around 1350, waves of Germanic Jews immigrated eastward, thus creating by 1650 a critical mass of Ashkenazi Jewry in the eastern Ukrainian lands of the Polish state. Consequently, the artistic techniques and the symbolic content of the synagogue wall paintings suggest that these art forms were significantly influenced by late-medieval Ashkenazi traditions imported in eastern Europe.

The Jewish artists who created the wall paintings generally worked outside the major schools of Polish and regional eastern European art. They developed a sophisticated regional vocabulary based on their Ashkenazi heritage, while selectively and unevenly integrating a wide range of European and Islamic artistic motifs and techniques into their works. This semi-isolation of the Jewish liturgical artistic development helps to explain the presence of many archaic features in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Ukrainian-Polish synagogue paintings. For example, most of the columns and arches forming the dominant decorative borders for the prayer inscriptions, a recurring motif in the eighteenth-century wooden synagogues, preserve Romanesque/Byzantine architectural details that had long been abandoned in European art as well as in Polish, Ukrainian, and eastern European vernacular art (***fig. 4***).[6]

Most scholars of the wall paintings have linked these pre-modern motifs to surviving examples of medieval Ashkenazi illuminated manuscript art. These pre-Renaissance influences also include some of the major artistic characteristics of the wall paintings, including: colour, composition, backgrounds, and a wide range of stylistic motifs. Two of the most dominant artistic motifs that continued from the medieval illuminated manuscripts are the architectural arch or gate motif and the extensive traditions of animal figure illumination. Both these dominant motifs continued and were further developed in the paintings of the Ukrainian wooden synagogues.[7]

Multicultural Sources

The overall significance of the medieval Ashkenazi artistic influences, however, should not obscure other significant sources that contributed to the total aesthetic ensemble of the paintings. A broad range

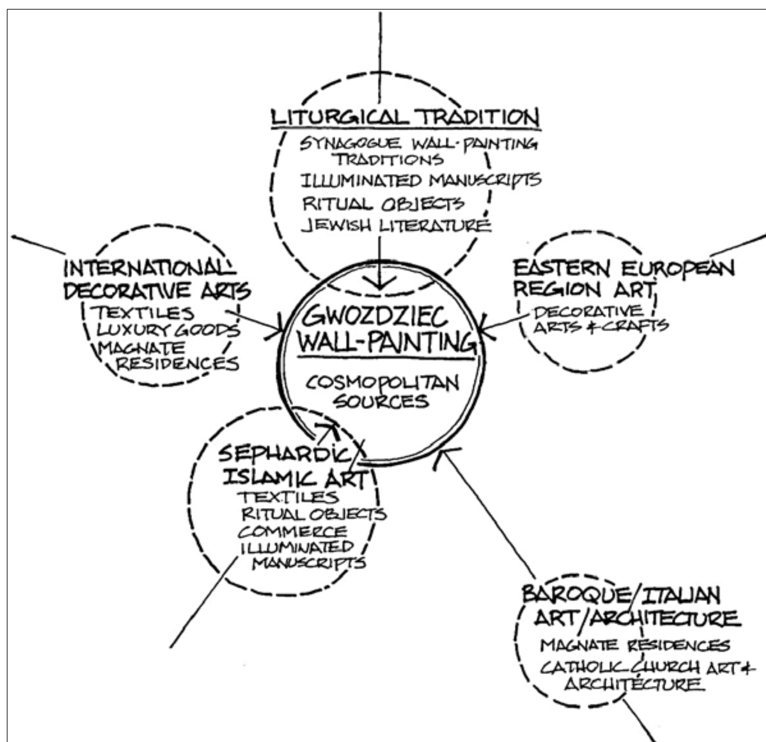

Fig 5. *Multicultural influences on the creation of the wall paintings of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ukrainian wooden synagogues.*

of cultural influences reflective of the integrated and multicultural environment of Ashkenazi culture in Poland/Ukraine significantly contributed to the overall aesthetic character of the wall paintings. These influences include: 1) Sephardic/Islamic sources, principally from Ottoman lands; 2) Italian/Baroque stylistic influences of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility and the Catholic Church; 3) Ukrainian and eastern European folk or vernacular decorative motifs; and 4) International European decorative arts sources generated by the Polish and Ukrainian

ruling magnates (***fig. 5***). These diverse sources combined with medieval Ashkenazi traditions to create a unique hybrid, Ukrainian/Polish Jewish synagogue art and architecture.

Sephardic and Islamic Sources

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, European Jewish communities had absorbed Islamic artistic traditions through numerous and long-term contacts with Jewish communities from Islamic lands. After more than ten centuries of Islamic rule, these communities had fully absorbed aspects of the Islamic decorative arts so that fundamental similarities had developed between the form and decoration of synagogue and mosque, including interior walls that were entirely covered with intricate, geometric patterns and scribal art. The influences of Sephardic communities, drawing on Islamic artistic tradition, account for some of the unique, non-European aesthetic qualities of the Ukrainian/Polish synagogue wall paintings. For example, early observers consistently associated the wooden synagogue's dense wall paintings, despite some similarities to regional folk pain-tings, to oriental textiles, especially noting similarities in floral and geometric borders and backgrounds found in oriental carpets and tents. A standard Islamic motif commonly found in the wall paintings is the intricate intertwining of leaf, flower, animal, or geometrical designs, referred to as arabesque (***fig. 6***). Over time, the continuous usage of such arabesque motifs united Sephardic and Islamic artistic traditions, and is a clear example of the fluidity of artistic borrowing within the development of synagogue art. Another specific Islamic influence on the wall paintings of the synagogues was the image of the Islamic/Ottoman tent (***fig. 7***).

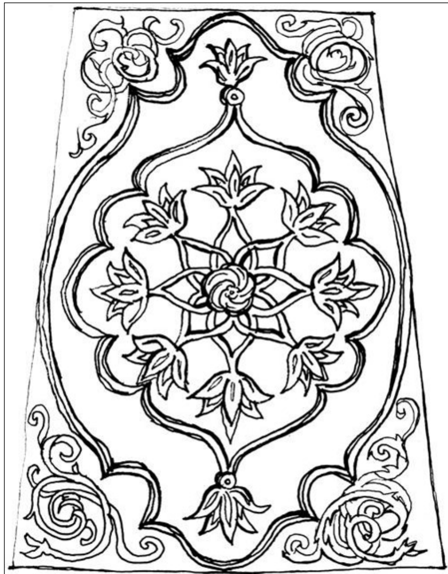

Fig. 6. *Arabesque motif from the cupola of the Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue*

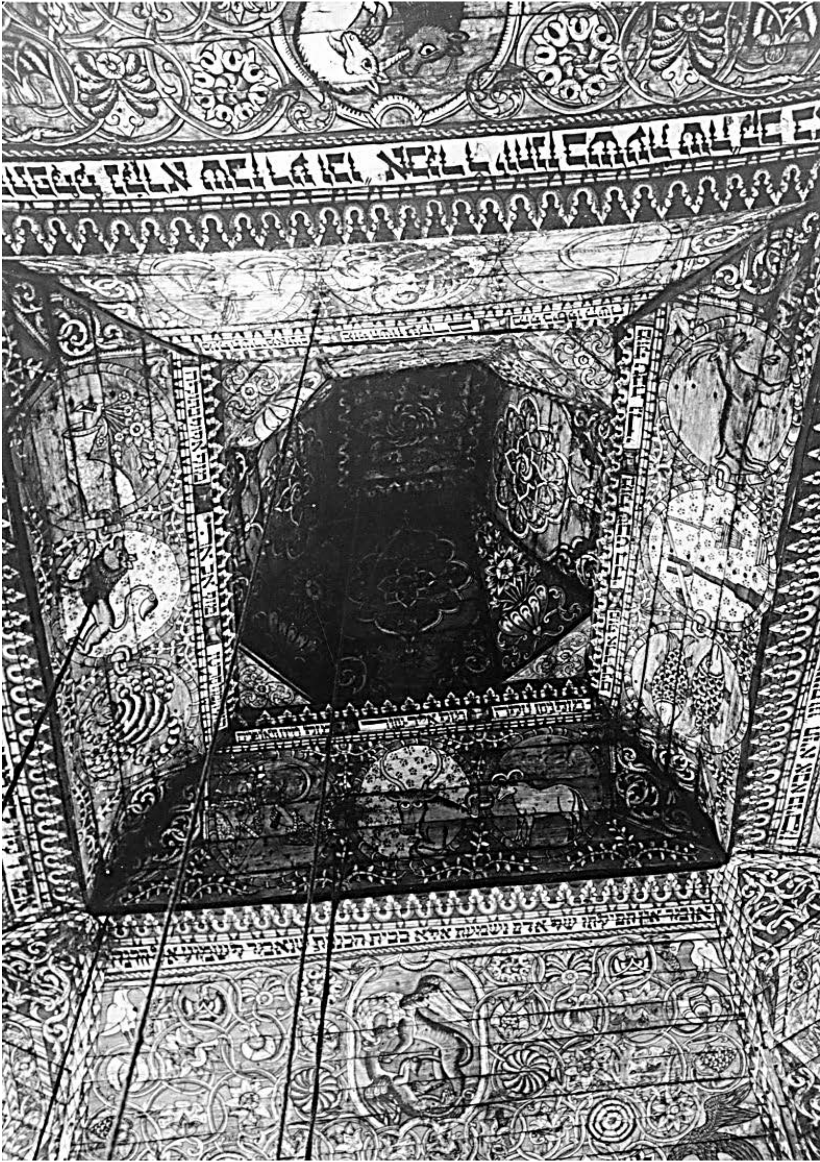

Fig. 7. *Wall paintings from the central cupola, Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue. Photograph taken looking directly upward at the centre of the synagogue. A prominent ring of twelve zodiac figures circles the upper cupola.*

The textile patterns and construction of such tents influenced the decoration of many wooden synagogues, including the painting of many rope and border motifs characteristic of the Ottoman tent. Based on these and many other Ottoman "oriental" parallels, one might even describe the overall aesthetic quality of the typical wooden synagogue wall paintings as significantly influenced by the art forms of Sephardic/Islamic cultures.[8]

European Decorative Arts and Regional Vernacular Sources

Many types of non-Jewish, European artistic influences are also evident in the wall paintings of the eighteenth-century Ukrainian and Polish synagogues. These influences may be divided between Ukrainian and eastern European regional-vernacular sources and international, European elite sources. Both sources are apparent in the decorative borders and background motifs of the wall paintings. While these motifs, in repetitive floral and geometric patterns, are not liturgically or symbolically significant, they are powerful aesthetic components of the wall paintings covering approximately forty to sixty percent of the interior surface of a typical wooden synagogue interior (***fig. 8***).

These complex compositions, often inspired by vegetation imagery, reveal a long-term intermingling of pre-modern and late-medieval Ukrainian vernacular approaches to visual organization and decoration of spaces. At the same time, many of the specific artistic motifs were relatively new. In the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, an international commerce in decorative merchandise supplied the European nobility with a wide range of contemporary styles, including eastern textiles and carpets. These expensive goods came to the magnates of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth through extensive trading networks between Europe and Asia, often facilitated by Jewish merchants, including exchange with Ottoman, Persian, and Indian centers of commerce.

Simultaneously, from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, a growing commerce in European manufactured textiles, many inspired by imported oriental textiles, also created a large volume of sophisticated fabrics available to the upper classes. It is the floral decorative patterns found in these contemporary fabrics that are closely related to several recurring motifs in the Ukrainian wooden synagogues and may have supplied the painters of the wooden synagogues with some of the floral

motifs used in the background portions of the wall paintings, as well as the textiles for Torah ark curtains and valances.[9]

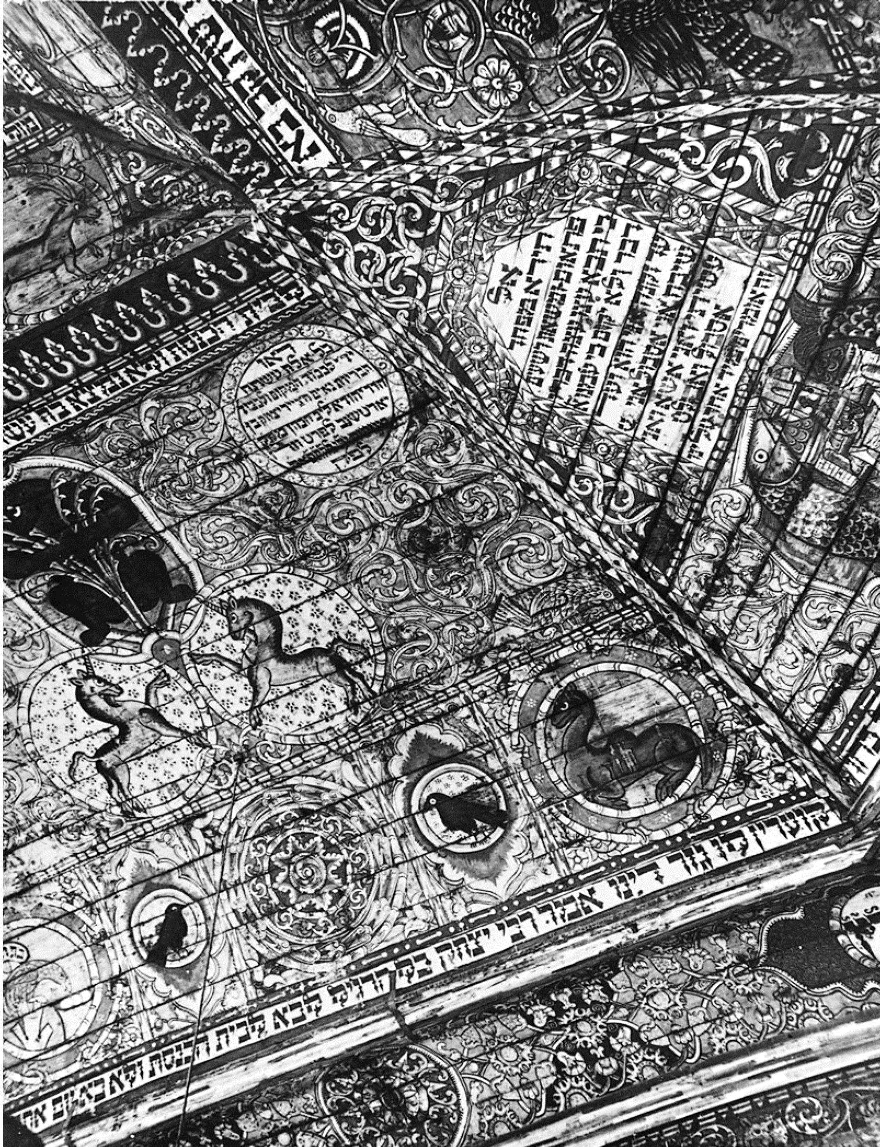

Fig. 8. *Wall paintings with animals and artist signature. Upper northwest ceiling, Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue.*

Cosmopolitan Sources For Synagogue Wall Paintings

The culturally heterogeneous artistic influences evident in the Ukrainian and Polish synagogue wall paintings are probably best described not as stylistic elements or artistic sources in the traditional sense, but as artistic extensions of a multicultural Ashkenazi community (***fig. 9***). This unique and cosmopolitan artistic culture developed over many centuries as an extension of communications, travel, and trade between Jewish diaspora communities throughout Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. This hybrid mixture of cosmopolitan sources represents both what is most significant and what is uniquely Jewish about the wall paintings. Widely dispersed Jewish communities maintained contact with one another through commercial and family networks, including highly developed forms of communications and travel, including rabbinical communication, secular and religious educational exchanges, and scientific and medical communication, all facilitated by extensive traditions of written communication, including manuscript writing and book publishing.

These deeply embedded traditions of communication and travel among Jewish communities in the early-modern era created the necessary pre-conditions for the wide-ranging multicultural art and architecture of the wooden synagogues. Despite the image of small-town *shtetl* backwardness, these cosmopolitan traditions penetrated deeply into the upper levels of Jewish culture, the levels that presumably sponsored and produced the wall paintings of the wooden synagogues. The diversity of these multicultural sources included a bedrock of older Ashkenazi artistic traditions, which had evolved in contact, first with Germanic and then with Polish/Ukrainian eastern European folk and elite cultures. In an overview of these many influences, we must still conclude that Jewish artistic development before 1800 remained relatively isolated from the centers of Gentile artistic development and this isolation was especially true for the liturgical aspects of the wall paintings. Nevertheless, the artistic totality of the wooden synagogues' paintings simultaneously represented a quiet and selective distillation of many local and international Ukrainian, Polish, and eastern European sources reflective of a unique and multicultural Jewish cosmopolitanism.[10]

In a final assessment of the meaning of wall paintings, we must always be aware that artistic development may, or may not, reflect

deeper, collective developments within a particular culture and religion. In other words, Ashkenazi multicultural aesthetics may or may not be an accurate or direct reflection of the larger cultural or narrower liturgical development of the Jewish communities in Ukraine and Poland. In the case of the Ukrainian wooden synagogue wall paintings, however, I believe that future scholarship will reveal that they are remarkably accurate summaries of the multicultural hybridity of their Polish/Ukrainian/Ashkenazi communities—communities both highly separated from and highly integrated within their Ukrainian and eastern European cultural context.

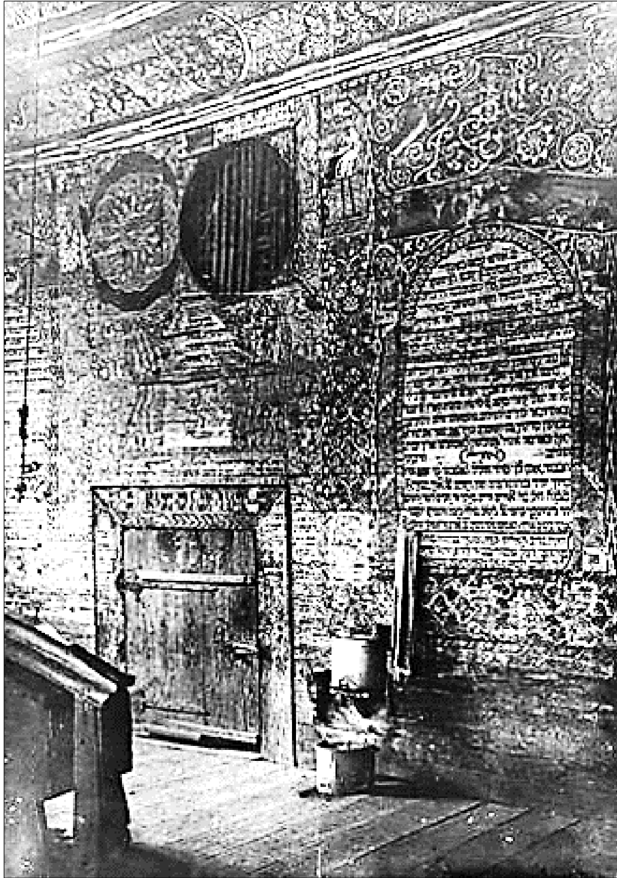

Fig. 9. *West wall showing main entry door and "Gate of Heaven" window. Hvizdets'/Gwoździec Synagogue.*

[1] Research for this article has been derived from Thomas C. Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 2003).

Sources of photos: *Memorial Book of the Community of Gwozdziec*. Copies of the photos and drawing are held by the Tel Aviv Museum of Art. Black and white drawings by the author, Thomas C. Hubka.

[2] Hubka, *Resplendent Synagogue,* 77-79, 84-85.

[3] Ibid., 107-109.

[4] Ibid., 84-86.

[5] Ibid., 160-161.

[6] Ibid., 109-116.

[7] Ibid., 99-103.

[8] Ibid., 116-117.

[9] Ibid., 117-118.

[10] Ibid., 118-121.

PART 1

REPRESENTATION, PARALLELS, AND INTERACTION IN RELIGIOUS ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Allegories of Divine Providence in Christian and Jewish Art in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ukrainian Lands

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The issue of divine providence and protection became topical during the mid-seventeenth century in the Ukrainian lands. The Orthodox Ruthenians living in the epicentre of the encounter between the Catholic, Christian Orthodox, Protestant, and Muslim powers, sought religious and political allies. The struggle of the Ukrainian Cossacks against the Catholics entailed aggression towards their Jewish neighbours as well. When contemplating divine intervention in their destiny, the Ukrainians and Jews similarly transmitted their ideas through a visual model that represented—symbolically or figuratively—the celestial patron as if physically protecting the people under his or her outstretched limbs. The iconography was not newly invented, but adopted from the art of the two empires flanking the Ukrainian lands: the Holy Roman Empire of the Habsburgs and the Muscovite Tsardom. Jews and Christians derived metaphors relating to divine protection from the same biblical sources: Exodus 19:4, which recounts God's protection over the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, "I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself," and Deuteronomy 32:11, which allegorizes God's providence as an image of the eagle who "stirs up her nest, flutters over her young, spreads abroad her wings, takes them, bears them on her wings." Yet, in a departure from the biblical discourse, both Christian and Jewish artists rendered the symbolic eagle as double-headed. Occasionally, Ukrainian artists also applied the symbolic protective wings to other divine figures. A comparison of the genesis and message of that imagery is the subject of this paper.[1]

The origins of the European heraldic double-headed eagle are traced back to the purported ability of this eagle to look in two opposite directions, which were understood as the western and eastern parts of the empire by the Byzantine dynasty of Komnenos as early as the mid-eleventh century.[2] This symbol was brought to the Christian West by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194–1250), who asserted his position as a direct successor to the Roman emperors of antiquity and the re-unifier of the western and eastern parts of the realm. The eagle emblem inherited by the Habsburgs had become by the late fifteenth century one of the principal images of Christ's providence over the social hierarchy in the Habsburg Empire. In a Bavarian wood engraving of 1487 (***fig. 1***), the crucifix appears in front

Fig. 1. *Das hailig [römisc]h Reich, wood engraving. Bavaria, 1487. From J. Baltrušaitis, Réveils et prodiges. La gothique fantastique (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), 245.*

of the eagle, here the symbol of the Habsburg Empire, bearing the caption *Das hailig* [*römisc*]*h Reich*. The image implies that the emperor, who is blessed by Christ, governs the nobility and the army, who in their turn take care of the craftsmen and peasantry.[3] The spread of eagle's wings repeats Christ's cruciform posture, as if extrapolating Christ's blessing and protection and promulgating it down over all the members of the Empire. A new image in visual art, the parable of the hands of the crucified Christ as wings spread over and protecting the nations, was first expressed in the writings of the Church fathers. Lactantius, a fourth-century Christian apologist, described the crucified Christ as extending his hands on the cross and thus plainly stretching out "his wings towards the east and the west, under which all nations from either side of the world might assemble and repose."[4] The *Quaternionenadler*, depicting an eagle bearing the Crucifix and heraldic shields of the governing bodies and social groups (***fig. 2***), was created by Hans Burgkmair in 1510 to promote Maximilian I as Elected Roman Emperor of the German People. Burgkmair's engraving circulated widely and was often copied in the Habsburg's Austrian and German possessions. The eagle's wings have literally turned into human arms in the

Fig. 2. *Hans Burgkmair the Elder, Quaternionenadler: Das hailig Römisch Reich mit seinen gelidern, woodcut, 1510.*

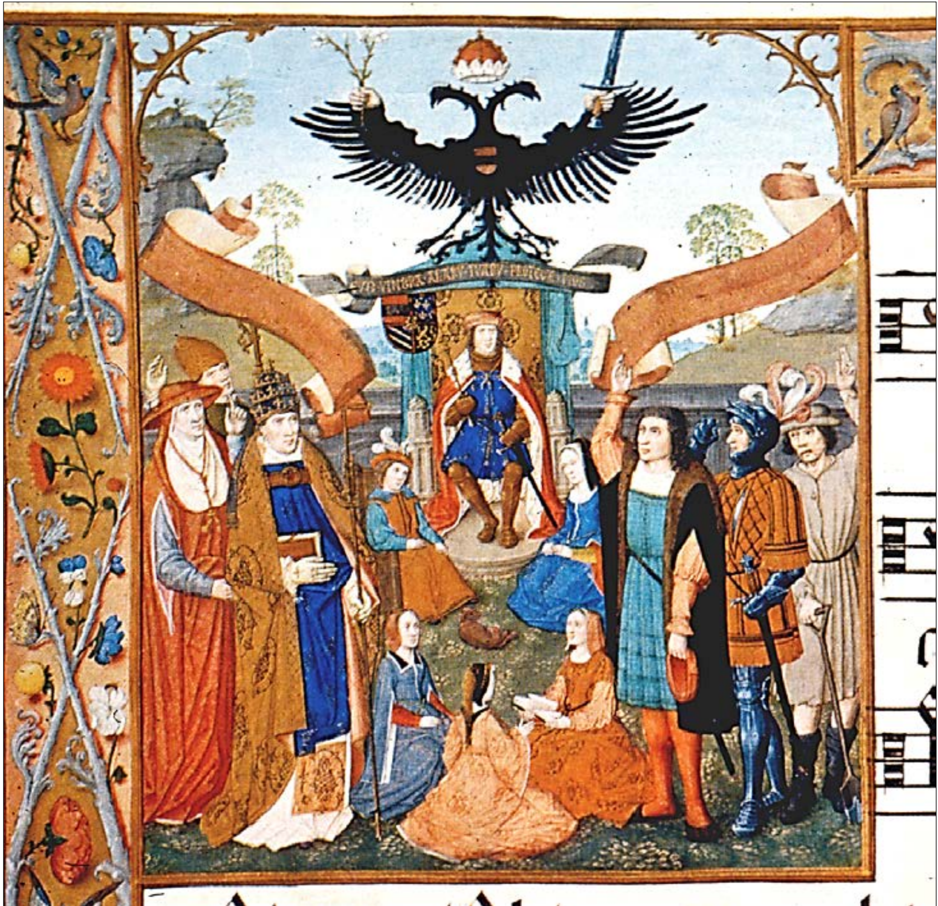

Fig. 3. *Petrus Almaire (Peter Imhoff), Secular and Spiritual Classes in the Empire Pay Homage to Emperor Maximilian I. The Missal of Margaret of Austria, Netherlands, 1515–16. Mechelen, Stadsarchief, fol. 1v.*

posthumous portraiture of Maximilian in the Missal book belonging to his daughter, Margaret of Austria (***fig. 3***). The eagle's hands hold a sword and white lilies, which allude to the strength and mercy of the emperor's government over his secular and clerical subjects.[5]

To the north of the Ukrainian lands, the double-headed eagle was the emblem of Muscovy. The Byzantine heraldry had been borrowed directly in the late fifteenth-century by Ivan III in reaction to the Habsburgs' earlier use of it as their imperial symbol.[6] After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Ivan III had married Zoe (Sophia)

Fig. 4. *The Great State Seal of Tsar Ivan The Terrible, between 1547 and 1584. From A. B. Lakier, Russkaia geraldika (Moscow, 1990), fig. XV-6.*

Paleologue, a niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, and claimed his kingdom to be the successor of the Eastern Roman Empire.[7] The great state seal of Ivan III's grandson, Ivan the Terrible (1530–84), who asserted that he was an offspring of August the Emperor, employs the eagle as the symbol of an empire blessed by Christ that unites its members under its wings (***fig. 4***).[8] The sacredness of the kingdom is denoted by the "Golgotha Cross" above the eagle; one more cross

Fig. 5. *Mary's Intercession, tempera on wood. Moscow school, early 16th century. St Petersburg, The Russian Museum.*

Fig. 6. *Mary's Intercession from the church of Sulymivka. Oil, tempera, gilding, and silvering on panel, the 1730s. Kyiv, The National Art Museum of Ukraine.*

on the eagle's crown; and Saint George, the holy patron of Moscow, on the eagle's breast. The other medallions in the proximity of the eagle designate the Russian lands. Thus in the sixteenth century, both the Russian double-headed eagle and the Habsburg's *Quaternionenadler* were not mere heraldic emblems but also a sign of God's protection over the state.

Another Christian image that denotes divine protection over individuals and society as a whole is the veil of Mary, whose names in Greek, Σκέπη, and in Russian, Покров, have similar meanings of a "veil" or "cloak" as well as "protection." An early-sixteenth century icon from Moscow (***fig. 5***) exemplifies the Slavonic iconography of Mary's protective veil.[9] The painting illustrates the legend of a tenth-century miracle that happened to a certain Andrew who witnessed the descent of the Virgin together with a host of saints in the Blachernae church in Constantinople. The painting shows Andrew in the bottom centre, in front of the Royal Gate of the iconostasis in the church. The Virgin had interceded with Christ on behalf of all Christians and then spread her veil over the congregation in the church as a protection.[10] The figures of a tsar, depicted in the chair to the left of Andrew, and a metropolitan to the right of him, imply that Mary blesses and protects both secular and sacral rulers. Two centuries later, a Ukrainian painter of the *Intercession* icon (***fig. 6***) adapted the story from Constantinople to his reality[11] by locating Mary with her veil in the church of Sulymivka near Kyiv, dressing the dignitaries in the fashion of his time and inserting Ukrainian Cossacks into the congregation.

In the Western version of this iconography, Mary shelters the people under her outspread cloak. The Latin term for these images, *Mater Misericordiae*, accents the aspect of divine mercy, and their German name, *Schutzmantel-madonna*, stresses Mary's role of protectress. The *Mater Misericordiae* model also had an impact on the icon painters in the Ukrainian lands since the seventeenth century. Like the *Intercession* from Sulymivka, an eighteenth-century Ukrainian *Mater Misericordiae* icon communicated a political message by including the Christian Orthodox Archimandrite on the left of Mary and the Russian Tsar with the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky on her right (***fig. 7***).[12]

The symbolism of the double-headed eagle and Mary's veil of mercy became pivotal in the propaganda for the political and religious alliance of Khmelnytsky's Cossack Hetmanate and the Tsardom of Russia that was established in 1654. The delegation sent by Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich to Kyiv in order to accept the Cossacks under the Russian crown presented to Khmelnytsky a standard portraying the holy protectors of the Orthodox Ruthenians: Christ, Mary

Fig. 7. *Mater Misericordiae with the Portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the Intercession Church of Deshky, oil, tempera, and gilding on wood, the 1730s. Kyiv, The National Art Museum of Ukraine.*

stretching her veil to protect the faithful, and saints, including sanctified monks of the Orthodox Pecherska Lavra (Monastery of the Caves) in Kyiv.[13] As a response, Khmelnytsky saluted Aleksei Mikhailovich as "an eagle that stirs up her nest," quoting Deuteronomy 32:11, in order to emphasize that the Tsar "stretched his royal mercy over Kyiv and all Lesser Russia [i.e., Ukraine]."[14] A member of Khmelnytsky's delegation to Moscow, Ukrainian Archimandrite Innocent Gisel [Innokentii Gizel] (ca. 1600–83),[15] reasserted this rhetoric on the frontispiece of the *Paterik Pechersky*, a hagiography of the Lavra's monks published in Kyiv in 1661 (***fig. 8***).[16] The same biblical quotation, "as an eagle stirs up her nest" is written here on two banderoles above Christ, thus associating him with the divine eagle. In this depiction, Christ delegates his protection to Mary, who grants her mercy to the Russian eagle hovering above the *Uspensky* (Dormition) Cathedral and the patriarchs of Kyiv's Pecherska Lavra. In contrast to the mere semblance of the crucified Christ's arms and eagle's wings observable in the symbolic images of Habsburg's imperial eagle, the artist of the *Paterik* frontispiece gives a pair of actual eagle's wings to both Christ and Mary, explaining the portrayal of a winged Mary with the apocalyptic verse "and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle" (Rev. 12:14), which appears in the banderoles above her figure.

Fig. 8. *Paterik Pechersky (Kyiv, 1661), frontispiece.*

Both the German-born Gisel and the engraver of the *Paterik* illustrations, the Lavra's monk Illya, were Orthodox clerics well acquainted with Western art,[17] and their frontispiece wood engraving merged the eastern and western iconographic traditions. Mary's descent from Christ to a church and its congregation repeats the layout of the Russian icons of her intercession (cf. ***fig. 5***),

whereas the veil shown as a cloak with outstretched edges rather than as a shawl above her head replicates the Catholic iconography of *Mater Misericordiae*. The Russian eagle under its celestial protectors is an antithesis to the Catholic pictures, where the divine eagle is Habsburg (***fig. 1***) and the location of the Russian state emblem above a church in Kyiv symbolizes the political and religious protection of Muscovy over Ukraine.

Gisel's utilization of western sources is even more apparent in the frontispiece of his own book, *Mir z Bogom chelovieku* (Peace with God for Man) (***fig. 9***), compiled after the annexation of eastern Ukraine to Russia in 1667 and printed in the Lavra in 1669.[18] Here, the Russian eagle with its raised pinions is modeled on the Habsburg emblem (e.g., ***figs. 1–3***) rather than on the Byzantine-styled eagle with its wings turned down as that depicted in the *Paterik*. The eagle is now the dominant image, and—like in the Habsburg art (cf. ***fig. 3***)—the agent of the dual aspects of divine providence that cares for the faithful and punishes the infidels. The eagle stretches its right claw with a palm branch inscribed with "Peace to the Faithful" over the Russian Tsar and his army who, as this reads in the banderole above their heads, "trust in the shadow of these wings." The arrow inscribed "Sore for the Enemies" in the eagle's left claw threatens the Poles who, as one learns from the scroll, "get their deserts."[19]

Jewish chronicles and folk legends epitomized the Khmelnytsky uprising of 1648–49 as a national disaster comparable to the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem followed by the exile.[20] As with the traditional interpretations of the destruction of the Temple, the massacres of Jews during those years were accepted as God's retribution for those who abandoned the Torah.[21] The survivors believed that divine anger would be tempered with divine mercy[22] that would ultimately bring messianic redemption to God's chosen people. The concept of the sheltering of the righteous "under the wings of divine presence," which echoed biblical discourse regarding the eagle bearing the exiles on its wings to God (Ex. 19:4), became a common idiom in Jewish chronicles of the Khmelnytsky persecutions. In the eulogy compiled in memory of the victims, Yom Tov Lipmann Heller (1579–1654) begged: "God, full of mercy, give right repose to the souls of the murdered under the wings of divine presence, […] for the merits of the martyrs gather the dispersed."[23] The synagogue painters utilized the double-headed eagle as the image best able to signify God's rule over the world, the duality of justice and mercy within divine providence, and hope for redemption under the wings of God's presence.

Fig. 9. *Innocent Gisel, Mir z Bogom chelovieku (Kyiv 1669), frontispiece.*

In the centre of the ceiling painting, tentatively dated 1714 (***fig. 11***),[24] in the synagogue in Khodoriv (Polish: Chodorów) near Lviv, the verse from Deuteronomy 32:11 written around the double-headed eagle identifies it as a symbol of divine

Fig. 10. *Semen Ivanov, Divine Eagle Slaying the Dragon, Ustiuzhna, the Vologda region; oil, tempera, and gilding on canvas mounted on wood, 1729. Stockholm, The Nationalmuseum.*

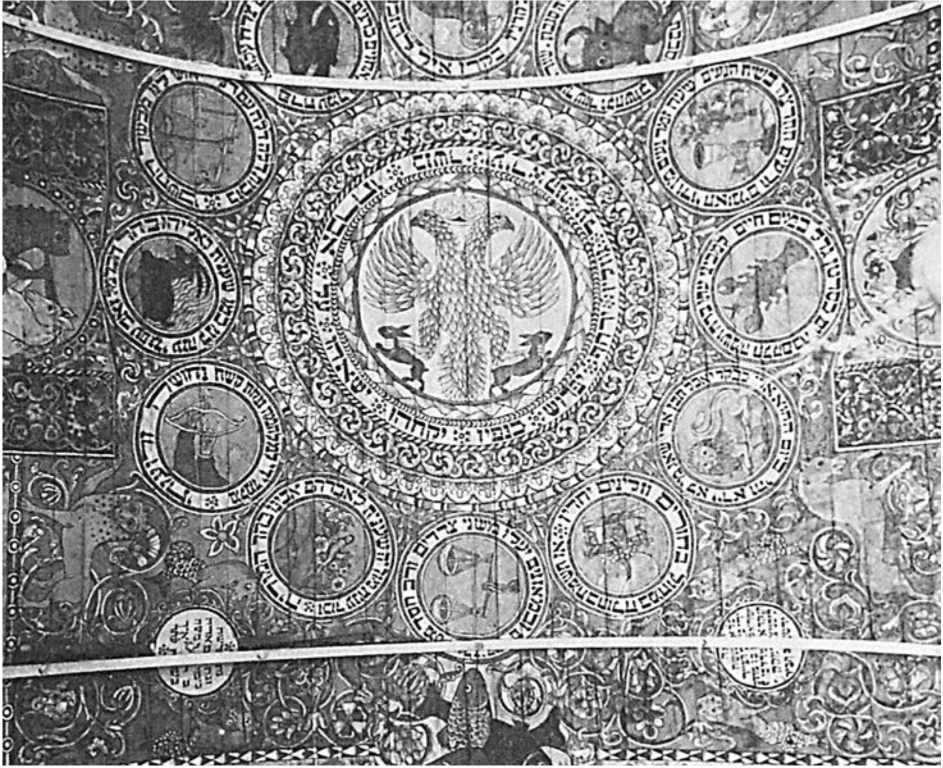

Fig. 11. *Khodoriv, synagogue: ceiling painting in the prayer hall (detail), 1714. Photograph by A. Breier, before 1913. Tel Aviv Art Museum, The Prints and Drawings Department.*

protection over individual men, who are represented by small hares whose necks are grasped in the eagle's claws.[25] The verse about the eagle fluttering around its young and taking them heavenwards suggests that the painting represents the eagle rescuing the hares rather than cruelly preying upon them.[26] This aspect is clearer in the ceiling painting of ca. 1746 in the synagogue of Smotrych (***fig. 12***), where the eagle embraces the hares' waists and looks into their eyes. The small stars between puffy patterns on each side of the eagle represent the sky. In the Khodoriv synagogue, the eagle within the sun-like circle surrounded by the signs of the Zodiac suggests God's eternal government over the universe. The unity of the double-headed eagle is emphasized by the single great crown above both its heads.

The eagle's double heads may imply God's rule over both sides of the world, but also may connote the duality of divine justice and mercy that was a dominant topic in the Jewish chronicles of the Khmelnytsky period, as well as a prevalent motif in the frontispiece of Gisel's book. The worldviews of the Jews and Ukrainians were modeled on a common topos: providence pursues the sinners but has mercy on the righteous who find shelter under Divine wings. The difference is in the identification of the sides. For Gisel and his engraver, the eagle protects Orthodox Muscovites and pursues the Polish Catholic enemies (cf. ***fig. 9***). The Jews believed that they, the "eagle's young," are subjects of both divine anger and paternal protection. Unlike the groups of people shown as objects of divine protection in Ukrainian art, the hare allegory in Jewish art conveys the idea of God's care of each individual person. In contrast to the Christian hierarchic schemes of divine providence that sanctify the present social order, the Jewish images are concerned with the ideal order of the world.

To the best of our knowledge, no church contained a painting of the double-headed eagle within the wheel of the Zodiac such as that found in the Khodoriv synagogue, but similar motifs circulated in prints. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, the book illustrations and single printed sheets facilitated the migration of images across cultures and served as a model for wall paintings. The eagle within the circle above the twelve pictures of labourers and the Zodiac sings as if ensuring the proper sequence of times in Johann Schultes's Catholic printed calendar for the year 1637 (***fig. 13***). The sun surrounded by the signs of the Zodiac was painted on the ceiling of a wooden palace of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich in Kolomenskoye near Moscow in 1667–69, and copies of it in folk prints have been found as far as Ukraine (***fig. 14***).[27]

The image of the double-headed eagle was disseminated via Christian prints and paintings and also became part of church design. The eagle is seen above the carved wooden Royal Gate in the *Mary's Intercession* icon (fig. 6) that is thought to be a depiction of the lost iconostasis from the Sulymivka church. An iconostasis crowned by a carved wooden eagle (***fig. 15***) is still to be found in the *Spaso-Preobrazhens'ka* (Transfiguration of the Saviour) Church of 1734 in Velyki Sorochyntsi. As in the Russian political graphics and the *Intercession* icon of Sulymivka, the eagle designates divine providence that is transmitted through the spiritual protection of Orthodox Russia.

Fig. 12. *Smotrych, synagogue: ceiling painting Above the Holy Ark, 1746(?). Photograph by S.A. Taranushchenko, the 1920s. Kyiv, The National Library of Ukraine, Department of Manuscripts, Fond 278, no. 473, item 804.*

A similar transition of this image into sculptural decoration occurred in Eastern European synagogues, where a sculpted double-headed eagle symbolizing God's rulership and providence was often set atop the Torah ark (***fig. 16***), the bimah, and other ritual objects.

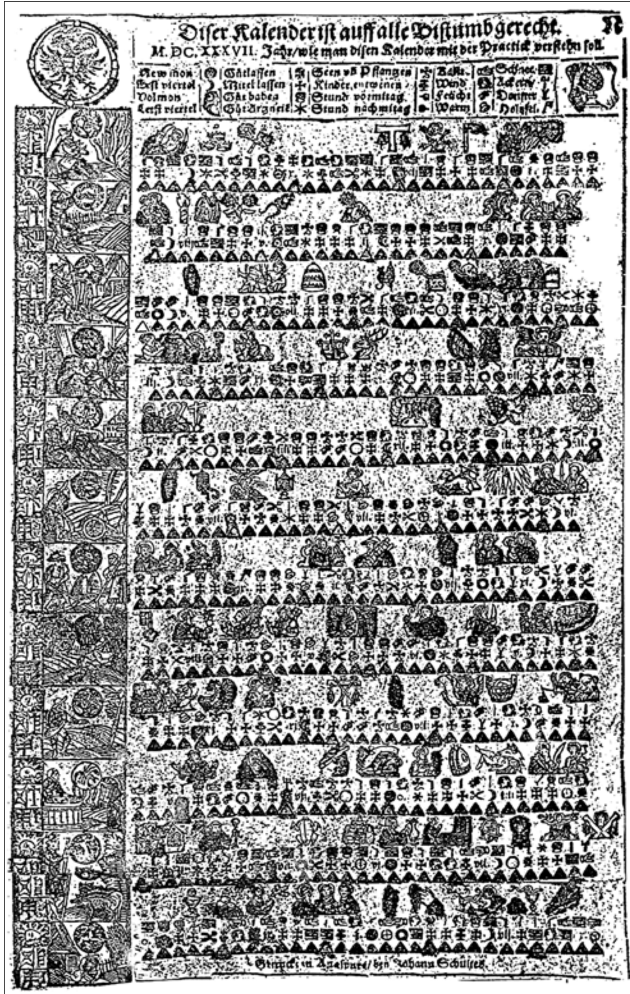

Fig. 13. *Johann Schultes, Calendar for the year of 1637, wood engraving.Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek.*

The politically charged symbol of the double-headed eagle encouraged the Ukrainians during their struggle for dominance of the Orthodox Church in their lands. After that aim had been achieved when Ukraine was more fully integrated into the Russian Empire in the late eighteenth century, this symbol disappeared from their ecclesiastic art. The aviamorphic symbol of divine providence in synagogue art sublimated the traumatic Jewish experience of the Khmelnytsky massacres. Even after these historical and psychological connotations had faded, the double-headed eagle continued to be a prevalent symbol of the divine in Jewish art in Ukraine and surrounding lands—Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, and Romania—until the Holocaust.

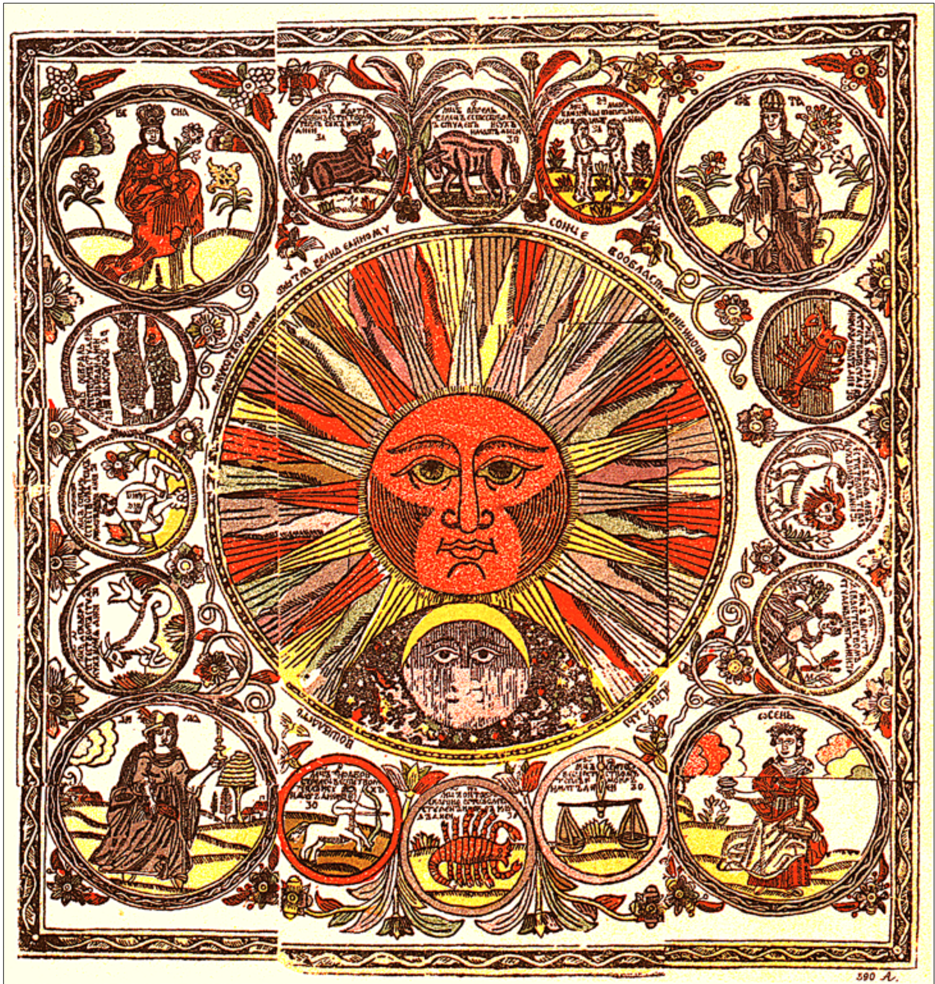

Fig. 14. *The Sun and the Moon, the Twelve Signs of Zodiac, and the Four Seasons, a copy of the ceiling painting of 1667–69 in the palace of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich in Kolomenskoye near Moscow, woodcut, coloured by hand. Muscovy, the late 17th or the early 18th century.*

Fig. 15. Velyki Sorochyntsi, the Transfiguration of the Saviour church: iconostasis (detail), carved and gilt wood, 1734.

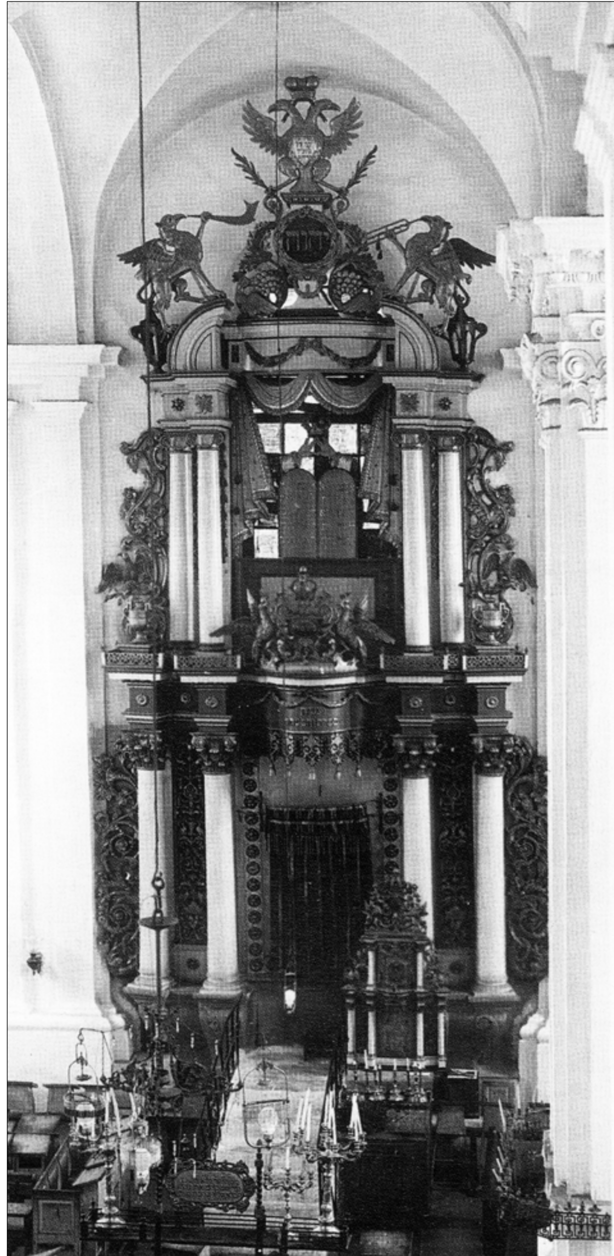

Fig. 16. Kremienets, synagogue: the Torah Ark, early 19th century. Photograph by Solomon Yudovin, 1912. St. Petersburg, Petersburg Judaica Center.

[1] This research, based on my lecture at the conference “Ukrainian Jewish Encounter: Cultural Interaction, Representation and Memory” organised by the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter Initiative (Canada) in collaboration with the Israel Museum and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (Jerusalem, October 18–20, 2010), became a part of the project supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 326/13) and was published in *Judaica Ukrainica*, 3 (2014): 105–127.

[2] Zapheiriou, N. *The Greek Flag from Antiquity to Present* (Athens, 1947), 21–22; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 472, 669.

[3] I discussed the double-headed eagle motif in Habsburg art more extensively in my “The Eagle, Its Twin Heads and Many Faces: Synagogue Chandeliers Surmounted by Double-headed Eagles,” *Jewish Ceremonial Objects in Transcultural Context* (*Studia Rosenthaliana*, 37, 2004): 77–129.

[4] “Nam quod extendit in patibulo manus, utique alas suas in Orientem Occidentem que porrexit, sub quas uniuersae nationes ab utraque mundi parte ad requiem conuenirent,” Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, “Epitome divinarum instituionum,” *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844), 6:1058, chapter 51.

[5] The sword and the white lilies are standard symbols of Christ’s judgment and mercy, respectively, in the images of the Last Judgment in Early Netherland paintings. For example, see Hans Memling’s *Last Judgment*, oil on wood, 1466–73, Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe.

[6] See: Alef, Gustave. “The Adoption of the Muscovite Two-Headed Eagle: A Discordant View,” *Speculum* 41, no. 1 (1966): 1–21.

[7] Poe, Marshall. “Moscow, the Third Rome: The Origins and Transformations of a ‘Pivotal Moment’,” *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (2001): 412–29.

[8] Lakier, Aleksandr B. *Russkaia geraldika* (Moscow, 1990), 141–45.

[9] Alpatov, M. V. *Early Russian Icon Painting* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1978), 29, 31, 318 no. 167–68.

[10] Wortley, John. *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Aldershot: Ashgate Varorium, 2009), 149–54.

[11] *Shedevry ukrains’koho ikonopysu XII-XIX st.* (Kyiv: Mystetsvo, 1999), 114–15.

[12] Essential research on the Polish and Ukrainian iconography of *Mater Misericordiae* is found in Mieczysław Gębarowicz’s *Mater Misericordiae-Pokrow-Pokrowa w sztuce i legendzie środkowo-wschodniej Europy* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986).

[13] The standard is known to us only from its description in Bantysh-Kamensky, D. *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 528.

[14] *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*, 10 (St. Petersburg, 1878) no. 4, 216–17.

[15] Sumtsov, N. F. “Innokentii Gizel,” *Kievskaia starina*, 10 (1884), pp. 183–226; *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 2:58.

[16] A manuscript translation of the Polish *Paterykon abo żywoty ss. Oycow pieczarskich* (Kyiv, 1635) into the Church Slavonic was completed by the Archimandrite Joseph Trisna in 1656. Gisel added an introduction praising the Russian Tsar to the book and inspired the symbolic design of the frontispiece. Forty-eight woodcuts for this edition were produced by Illya, a Lavra monk, in 1655–60. See: Yakym P. Zapasko and Yaroslav. Isaevych, D. *Pamiatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraini*, 1 *(1574-1700)* (Lviv: Vyshcha shkola, 1981), no. 402.

[17] Gisel was born to a German reformist family in East Prussia, left for Volhynia where he converted to Orthodoxy, and then studied theology, including Catholic writings, history, jurisprudence, philosophy, and languages at the Kyiv College and at European universities. See: Sumtsov, N. F. “Innokentii Gizel,” *Kievskaia starina*, 10 (1884), 183–226; idem, *K istorii yuzhno-russkoi literatury*, no. 3 (Kharkiv, 1885), p. 3. Ilya widely copied Dutch and German prints. See: Rovinskii, D. A. *Russkie narodnye kartinki* (St. Petersburg, 2002; reprint of St. Petersburg: R. Golike, 1900), 21–22, 39.

[18] Zapasko and Isaevych, *Pamiatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, no. 458; A. A. Guseva, T. Kameneva, N. and Polonskaia, I. M. *Ukrainskie knigi kirillovskoi pechati XVI–XVII vv.* 2 (Moscow, 1981), 1, p. 115.

[19] Numerous versions of the iconographic scheme of Gisel’s allegories were popular in the Ukrainian and western Russian lands until the first half of the 18th century, as long as the struggle of Russia for control over the eastern parts of Poland continued. Several examples are reproduced in Gębarowicz, *Mater Misericordiae-Pokrow-Pokrowa*, fig. 42; *Pamiatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva*, nos. 780, 2857; Alekseeva, M. *Graviura petrovskogo vremeni* (St. Petersburg, 1990), 10–11. See also Krivtsov, D. Iu. “Obraz dvuglavogo orla v simvolike zapadnorusskikh posviatitel’nykh predisloviy XVII—nachala XVIII vv. (na materialakh izdaniia tipografii Kievopecherskoi Lavry,” in *Geraldika: Materialy konferentsii ‘10 let vosstanovleniia geral’dicheskoi sluzhby Rossii’* (St. Petersburg, 2002), 58–67. The copies of Gisel’s image of the double-headed eagle in central Russia were often stripped of the political connotations relating to the encounter of the Eastern Orthodox Christians with the Polish Catholics. For example, the icon painter Semen Ivanov of Ustiuzhna near Vologda (fig. 10) placed under the eagle’s arrow and palm branch a pair of identically recumbent worshipers rather than the two conflicting troops, and depicted the apostles and evangelists instead of the Kyivan saints, see Ufi Abel and Vera Moore, *Icons* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002), 128–129. On this iconography, see also Tarasov, Oleg. *Icon and Devotion: Sacred Spaces in Imperial Russia* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), 277–80.

[20] Raba, Joel. *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of the Jews in the Wars of the Polish Commonwealth During the Mid-Seventeenth Century as Shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research* (Boulder, CO and New York: East European Monographs, 1995), pp. 37ff, 67ff, 139. See also: Mintz, Alan. *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press,

1984), 102–105; Shmeruk, Chone. “Yiddish Literature and Collective Memory: The Case of the Chmielnicki Massacres,” *Polin*, 5 (1990): 173–83.

[21] This view of the massacres appears to be denoted by the plea of Jews in the hour of danger as described by Meir ben Samuel from Szczebrzeshyn: “We will give our lives for the holiness of our Lord, […] and may be then we desert [God’s] grace,” Meir b. Samuel of Szczebrzeszyn, *Tsuk ha-Ettim* (Cracow, 1650) (Hebrew). See: reprints in H. J. Gurland, *Le-Korot ha-Gezerot al-Yisrael*, 4 (Cracow, 1889), 115 (Hebrew); Rosman, M. *Texts on the Massacres of the Years 1648–1649: Meir of Szczebrzeszyn, N. N. Hannover* (Jerusalem: Merkuz Dinur, 1981), 6.

[22] This approach is found in the Bible. For example, Ezekiel prophesied that God does not desire the destruction of sinners, but rather that through repentance they may live (18:23). See also: Exodus 34:6–7; Hosea 11:9.

[23] Gurland, H. J. *Le-Korot ha-Gezerot al-Yisrael*, 1 (Cracow, 1887), 10; Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, 70. Note also the concluding sentence of Nathan (Nata) Hannover’s popular chronicle of the Khmelnytsky (Chmielnicki) massacres *Yeven Metsulah* (literally, “Deep Mire” and figuratively, “Abyss of Despair”) first published in Venice in 1653: “the Lord should hearken to our cries and gather our dispersed ‘from the four corners of the earth’ [Isaiah 11:12], and send us our righteous Messiah, speedily in our day,” Hanover, N. *Abyss of Despair* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1983), 121. See also: Rosman, *Texts*, 44, and similar excerptions in Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial*, 70.

[24] Breyer [Breier], A. “Die hölzernen Synagogen in Galizien und Russisch-Polen aus dem 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert” (Ph.D. thesis, Vienna 1913), 13; Breier, A. Eisler M., and Grunwald M., *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (Baden bei Vienna, 1934), 9–10.

[25] On the hare as an allegory of the Jew in medieval Jewish art, see: Pasquini, Laura “The Motif of the Hare in the Illuminations of Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts,” *Materia giudaica* 7, no. 2 (2002): 273–82.

[26] This reading was proposed by Andrzej Wierciński, “Orzeł i zając: Próba interpretacji plafonu sufitowego synagogi w Chodorowie” in *Żydzi i Judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich. Materiały z konferencji, Kraków 21–23 XI 1995*, ed. Krzysztof Pilarczyk (Cracow: Księgarnia Akademicka Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1997), 376. See more argumentation in Elliott Horowitz, “Odd Couples: The Eagle and the Hare, the Lion and the Unicorn,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly*, 11 (2004): 243–58.

[27] Rovinskii, *Russkie narodnye kartinki*, 40; Belobrova, O.A. “K istorii knizhnoy miniatiury i narodnoi kartinki kontsa XVII—pervoi poloviny XVIII vieka,” in *Narodnaia kartinka XVII-XIX vekov* (St. Petersburg, 1996), 71–81.

The Synagogue Wall Paintings in Novoselytsia, Ukraine

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The synagogue murals in Novoselytsia, discovered in 2008, raise questions about their creation and the place of this artistic phenomenon within the Jewish tradition of synagogue art.[1] The tablet with the names of donors suggests that the synagogue was built in 1919. Archival documents confirm that the synagogue opened in 1920, when Novoselytsia was part of Romania's Bessarabia province.[2] The murals were probably made around the same time, since the list of donors also features the name of the person who had provided funds for the interior decorations (***fig. 1***).[3]

Fig. 1. *Panels with the list of donors. The list contains the name of the person (Fishman) who had provided funds for the interior decorations.*

After the Second World War, the building was not used as a synagogue. The murals survived in their pristine form under a layer of plaster. Aside from some minor losses resulting from the reconstruction of the building, the composition was preserved almost entirely.

The murals decorate the ceiling and the walls of a relatively large prayer hall. The murals contain an extensive iconographical program, which is presented by narrative scenes, landscape, nature morte, and symbolic images.

The composition of the painting on the ceiling consisted of a system of concentric ornamental border edgings similar to the Chernivtsi (Yiddish: Tshernovits, Romanian: Cernăuţi) model, but with a heightened decorative effect. Baroque cartouches have been added, and the schematism and graphic rigidity characteristic of the Chernivtsi synagogue original are less noticeable.

The centre of the composition is taken up by a large vivid bunch of roses, daisies, and wild flowers displayed against the backdrop of the heavens with flying swallows. The bouquet is edged in with a border formed by a wreath of twelve medallions illustrating Psalm 150 (***fig. 2***).

***Fig* 2**. *The ceiling decoration.*

The entire composition is inscribed within the dodecagon, which consists of two hexagrams (possibly two stars of David) of contrasting colours. Each and every element of the geometrical figure is artistically conceptualized. The sharp angles of the big star contain signs of the Zodiac. In the corners of the square frame with the inscribed signs of the Zodiac, medallions are visible (only two survive) displaying the image of a crowned heraldic eagle blowing a *shofar* (ram's horn). The composition in the ceiling centre is flanked on the south and the north by two rectangular panels with images of the *lulav* and *etrog*, and four animals—a lion, eagle, panther, and deer, illustrating the well-known quote from the *Mishna* (Avot 5:32)

The composition on the walls is divided into upper and lower registers encompassing the prayer house along the perimeter. The scenes of the upper register are inscribed within the arch, while the scenes of the lower register are placed within the architectural frames. The spectacular décor of columns draped in purple and navy-blue fabric creates an atmosphere of palatial splendour.

On the upper register of the wall, one cluster illustrates events connected with the seven biblical forefathers—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joseph, and David. The choice of the biblical characters was most likely dictated by traditional notions regarding the *Ushpizin*, the seven supernal guests who come to visit Jews in the *sukkah*, one for each of the seven days of the festival. The motif received wide application due to the practices of the local Hasidim. These scenes occupy a central place on both sides of the Torah Ark on the southwestern wall (***fig.3***). The images of the seven biblical characters are supplemented by depictions of the twelve Tribes of Israel (***fig. 4***). The images of the seven biblical characters are supplemented by depictions of the twelve Tribes of Israel (***fig. 4***). The master literally visualizes the text of biblical metaphors from the blessing of Jacob (Genesis 49:1-29), or the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33: 13) using a soft folk humour. The tribe of Dan is depicted as a huge snake spitting fire, the tribe of Issachar is depicted as a donkey pulling a cart with Talmud treatises (***fig. 5***), and the tribe of Asher is depicted in the form of a basket with fruit and white "Bessarabian" wine (***fig.6***).

Fig.3. *Eastern wall with the location of the Torah Ark.*

This register is supplemented by depictions of biblical mountains at the corners of all four walls. These include Mount Ararat, on which God made a covenant with Noah; Mount Sinai, where the Almighty made a covenant with Moses; Mount Moriah, the site of Solomon's Temple; the Mount of Olives, from where the Messiah will make his appearance; and, finally, the mountains Nevo and Gar, where Moses and Abraham found their final rest.

On the lower register are portrayals of the holy graves in the Land of Israel—the Cave of the Patriarchs (***fig. 7***), the Grave of the House of King David, the grave of the Prophet Samuel, and depictions of the town of Jericho. The same register features two scenes illustrating texts of the prophets Elijah and Jonah. As in the case of the depiction of events relating to the seven personages of the *Ushpizin*, the characters themselves are visually absent or partially concealed. The first scene, "Elijah on Mount Carmel," is a landscape (***fig. 8***). At the centre of the composition is depicted an altar with a burning bull on Mount Carmel.

The mountain is surrounded by water. In the foreground are two blue buckets hinting at the miraculous nature of the event. To the side are buildings and the ruins of ancient arches. The other picture, “Jonah Inside the Belly of the Fish,” is a genre scene. The legs of the prophet wearing Hasidic dress protrude from the mouth of the big fish (***fig. 9***). On the left side is the tall tree that would serve as a seat for the Prophet whom the fish subsequently spat out. And on the right side are the city Tarshish and the departing ship, from which the Prophet had been thrown into the sea.

The women’s gallery features a diptych—two lyrical landscapes in lilac tones—illustrating popular phrases from Psalm 137 (***fig. 10***). The first is “By the Rivers of Babylon.” The second is “If I Forget Thee Jerusalem.” Together with the signs of Zodiac, these pictures are among the most traditional depictions in synagogue décor.

The wall paintings in Novoselytsia reflect the same iconographic tradition as the murals of the Chernivtsi synagogue Beit Tfila Benyamin,

Fig. 4. *Interior. The views to the northwest.*

described in my earlier publication. The compositions on the ceiling as well as the "Ushpizin" cycle are virtually identical, as is the choice of motifs (Fig. 14). Yet there are some differences—particularly in relation to the iconographic details (for example, in the scenes depicting "The Guests of Abraham" and "The Cave of the Patriarchs"). With high probability we can assume that the murals in both synagogues were made by one master, or rather one master with his disciples.

An analysis of the synagogue wall paintings in Chernivtsi suggests that the combination of murals were aligned with the calendar cycle of the fall high holidays—Rosh Hashanah, Sukkot, and Yom Kippur. There is evidence for this in the details of the composition and the iconography of the motifs. Thus the Zodiac sign "Libra," corresponding to the Hebrew month Tishrei—the beginning of the new year—acquires the characteristic symbolism of the fall holidays, during which people's deeds are allegorically being weighed and registered in a special book in heaven (the prayer for Rosh Hashanah reads: "May you be inscribed in the Book of Life"). That is why the image of the scales is right next to the book. The same sign of the Zodiac is connected with the top of the *Aron Kodesh*, which has a sharp spire attached to it.

The "Ushpizin" artistic cycle is associated with the fall festival of Sukkot. The scene "Akeidat Yitzchak" (The Binding of Isaac) and the scene with the prophet Jonah relate to Rosh Hashanah. The composition also features the attributes of the Sukkot festival—the *lulav* and *etrog*. As noted above, in Novoselytsia these motifs are supplemented with heraldic eagles playing the *shofar*. Similarly, for the choice of other scenes with prophets and sacred places in Israel, the author seems to have relied on a section of the evening prayer from the Yom Kippur *makhzor* (prayer book): "May the One who answered Shmuel in Mizpah, respond to us! The one who answered Jonah in the belly of the fish…The One who answered Daniel in the lions' den…The One who answered Mordechai and Esther in the capital of Shushan…"

The new motif of the Twelve Tribes of Israel—which occupies a very prominent place in the murals of the synagogues in Novoselytsia and a number of other towns of the region (though not Chernivtsi), probably, also connected to the calendar cycle, especially with fest of Simchat Torah. It should note, that the iconography of the Twelve Tribes in Novoselytsia is quite different from the synagogues in Romania, where the symbols tend to include military

Fig. 5. *Image of the Tribe of Issachar. Southern wall.*

paraphernalia and are often portrayed on hand-held flags or banners, corresponding to Zionist ideals[4].

A comparison of the wall paintings in Novoselytsia with archival photographs and preserved murals in other synagogues in Ukraine and Romania suggests that the Novoselytsia wall paintings represent the most extensive artistic program, preserved today. This circumstance, as well as a specific place and time of their creation suggest a regional artistic canon.

The author has sought out witnesses to the history of the creation of these murals—some still among the living and others who have left behind memoirs. One of my informants was a native of Novoselytsia, Pearl Schwartz. Born in 1922 and now residing in Ramat-Gan, Israel, she has identified the artist who in the mid-1920s made the wall painting in one of the synagogues in Novoselytsia. Pearl remembered some of the key elements of this mural—the signs of the Zodiac on the ceiling and the symbols of the Tribes. The artist, whose name was Groizgrou,

Fig 6. *Image of the Tribe of Asher. Eastern wall.*

and who was from the town of Khotyn, carried out regular painting jobs. At the time he was a "middle-aged man with a thick beard." Pearl's reminiscences do not confirm which synagogue it was, but available documents suggest that during the 1920s only one synagogue had opened in Novoselytsia.

One should note that Khotyn, where Groizgrou came from, was at the time a cultural centre of the Jewish community of Bessarabia. Lazar Mikhailovich Gurfinkel (b. 1924), a long-term resident of Khotyn who now lives in Chernivtsi, also remembered Groizgrou ("they mostly called him Groizgru"). The latter did house painting also for Gurfinkel's well-to-do family, and it was known in Khotyn that Groizgrou used to do wall paintings in synagogues throughout the region. He himself liked to mention that as a young man he painted the Great Synagogue in Chernivtsi.

One can assume that Groizgrou was most likely a simple house painter and self-taught artist, and most likely not the original creator of the sophisticated

Fig. 7. *Cave of Machpelah. Eastern wall.*

program of synagogue wall paintings in this region, but that he was rather following an established tradition. The memorial book *Sefer Kehilat Khotyn* mentions another master from Khotyn—Farber (or Lerner), who painted the Hasidic *kloyz* (a private house of prayer and study) that belonged to the Boyan Hasidim. The text reads: "The *kloyz* was decorated with Kabbalistic paintings—constellations and signs of tribes—all works by the master Shalom Farber (Lerner)."[5] Even though the book also referred to other synagogues in Khotyn, the paintings of the *kloyz* were nonetheless identified as a special phenomenon. It is also noteworthy that the Hasidic connection of the *kloyz* was highlighted. The synagogue in Novoselytsia, whose wall paintings apparently resembled murals in the Khotyn *kloyz,* did not belong to Boyan Hasidim. But in Novoselytsia itself there was also a Hasidic *kloyz*.

The town (now village) of Boyan (Boiany), where a son of Rabbi Israel Friedman (the founder of the Ruzhin Hasidic dynasty) settled in the mid-nineteenth century, lies right next to Novoselytsia. In Boyan he established a Hasidic community, of which he became the leader. Simultaneously his new adherents opened a Hasidic *kloyz* in Novoselytsia. Here is what Shlomo Dorner, whose father was a founder of the *kloyz* wrote about this episode:

> The synagogue of the Boyan Hasidim was built at the start of the “war” for the throne of the *Admor* (acronym for the leader of a Hasidic community) Rabbi Abraham Jacob Friedman. The rabbinical decree did not allow his son Rabbi Itzhak to succeed to the throne. He was ordered to leave the court in Sadagora and to relocate to Boyan, where the local Hasidim built him a palace with a “small shrine” (synagogue) for the Torah and prayers. Many of his father’s Hasidic followers went with him. That was in the year 1886. Thus was born the dynasty of the Boyan Hasidim, which was subsequently transplanted to America by the son (of the founder of the dynasty) Rabbi Mordechai. One should mention that a group of the Boyan Hasidim also appeared in our town. They were decent and prosperous people who built a new “kloyz” in honour of the Boyan Rebbe (leader of a Hasidic community). They were Israel Kanner–the first *gabai* (assistant to a rabbi), Yosi and Yeshayahu Edelman, Mori Pinkhas and his brother Haim Polikman, Aaron Hoikhman, Mordechai Frenkel, Moshe Zilberman, David Bogorad, David Kolker, Noah Roiter, Pinkhas and Reuven Kopman, Michael Koner and Naftali Rozin. All of them donated money for the construction of the synagogue, but they also had to obtain a loan. After the construction, began the epoch of decoration. Israel Kanner personally designed the interior and created ornaments for the *aron-kodesh*, *amud* (cantor’s desk or lecturn) and ceiling.[6]

This unique text not only identifies (for the first time) the ideologue and creator of the program of synagogue murals, but also points to the spiritual trend behind the wall paintings. The former resident of Chernivtsi David Tal, who now lives in Jerusalem, remembered that when he was a child, his father, a member of the Boyan Hasidic community, took him to the residence of the Boyan Rebbe.

The walls of the buildings bore depictions of the signs of the Zodiac, symbols of the Twelve Tribes, Joseph with haystacks, the staff of Moshe, etc.[7] The wall paintings of another synagogue of the Boyan Hasidim survived in the town Buhuşi in Southem Bukovina. In general, both the composition and the

Fig. 8. *Elijah on Mount Carmel. Northern wall.*

iconography of the murals are analogous to those in the above-mentioned *kloyz* and the paintings in Novoselytsia.

Thus we can speak about the existence of a special program of wall paintings that is identified with a specific spiritual movement and ideology of the Boyan Hasidic court. The model most likely related not only to the Boyan Hasidic community but also to the "metropolis" of Sadagora. As is known, the ideologies of the two courts were practically identical. The separation occurred as a result of the division of power—more specifically the succession to the "throne." Members of the

Friedman dynasty who had retreated to Boyan staked equal claims to the God-given status of their authority.

Israel Kafri, whose father was close to the Boyan Rebbe, formulated this position in the following manner: "The *Admor* in Boyan was Rabbi Itzhak Friedman, the grandson of Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin, the founder of the dynasty. He

Fig. 9. *Jonah Inside the Belly of the Fish. Northern wall*

traced his lineage all the way back to King David and for this reason considered himself King of his generation. They viewed their own dynasty as a continuation of the royal line of Judah, blessed by the forefather Jacob. This meant that the kin would retain authority until the arrival of the Messiah."[8]

Similarly, David Assaf underlines the messianic subtext of the Ruzhin dynasty's claims to the throne of King David: "The conception of the royal authority of Rabbi Israel (of Ruzhin) rested first and foremost on the tradition of establishing a lineage to King David. This was significant for two reasons: first,

the claim to the crown of the King; secondly, the claim to the crown of the Messiah, or at least a hint at the latter."[9]

The claims to a special regal lineage served as a perfect justification for the love of things glamorous, the construction of palaces, the employment of a vast coterie of servants, and, naturally, the elaborate ornamentation of residences and synagogues. The murals perhaps served as a most vivid embodiment of this spirit.

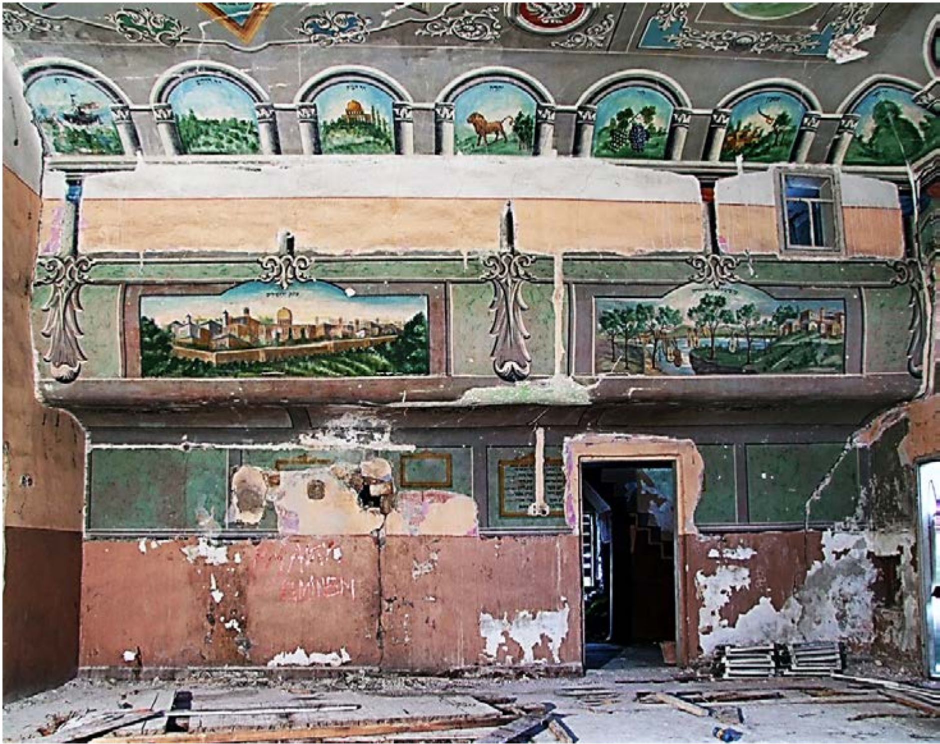

Fig. 10. *Illustrating Psalm 137. Western wall.*

The "creator of the program," Israel Kanner, who lived in the "province," likely took his cues from the artistic style of the "metropolis"—the residence of the dynasty's founder. That is how traditional mechanisms of cultural borrowing generally function—the "province" orients itself towards the "metropole."

The artist who painted the Novoselytsia synagogue—in a manner so similar to the Chernivtsi synagogue Beit Tfila, which was painted later—most likely followed the regional tradition that had become the canonical model.

Naturally, the semantic clusters in the program of the murals are not one-dimensional. The dominant motif of the fall holidays (described above) is not the sole element of the ideological program informing the wall paintings.

By uniting in one register several different narrative cycles, the artist effectively created two new narratives: the main biblical narrative—God's eternal Covenant with the People of Israel, and the narrative of David's Kingdom in the Holy Land promised by the Almighty to the descendants of Israel. These ideas are reflected in the illustrations to Psalm 137, in the recurring depiction of the Temple, in the portrayal of the Mount of Olives where the Messiah will arrive inaugurating the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel, and in the images of the City of Palm Trees—Jericho—whose fall signalled the conquest of the Land of Israel.[10] Equally noteworthy is the special landscape iconography of the tribes, whereby symbols of the tribes form the landscape of the Land of Israel. Thus the camp of Gad features a white-blue Zionist banner; Benjamin the wolf appears against the backdrop of the blazing cupola of the Temple in Jerusalem; Reuben is represented by the landscape of the Holy Land with "the streaming Jordan" and palm trees; and Levi hints at the scouts (*meraglim*), carrying the fruits of the Land of Israel.

The idea of "David's Kingdom" is also evident in the choice of holy places, which are distinct from the murals in Romania's synagogues. These include the Cave of the Patriarchs, the Grave of the Prophet Samuel, and the Graves of the House of King David.[11] The composition also contains the picture of the Throne of King Solomon, which not only hints at the Jewish King, the son of David and the builder of the Temple, but also imparts to the entire composition an ideology and aura of regal authority. One should note that the Throne of Solomon is portrayed according to the canon of the *Midrash* tradition with figures of lions on the stairs.[12]

Thus we have a panoramic picture unfolding in front of us, which includes the biblical topography (Mount Ararat, Mount Sinai, Mount Moriah, the Mount of Olives, Mount Nevo and the Mount Hor); the holy places of

the Land of Israel (graves and cities); the biblical Patriarchs, the Tribes of Israel, the Prophets, and the Kings.

Whereas in the top section of the panorama the artist presented the divine cosmos, in the lower section one finds the human cosmos, the biblical land, and the biblical history proceeding from the past to the future. This multilayered and thoroughly thought out composition does not resemble decorative panels or illustrative “pictures” that are not unified by a common idea, such as those found on the walls of many synagogues in today’s Poland and Romania.

In our view, the ideas that inspired the Ruzhin and Boyan Hasidism exerted a powerful influence on the program of these murals and the choice of motifs. The strong connection that the Ruzhin Hasidim and their descendants felt for the Land of Israel is well known. Preparations for the departure to the “Yishuv” (the Jewish community that lived in Palestine prior to the establishment of the State of Israel) and the construction of the Ruzhin court in Israel were important indicators of the vision of the Friedman dynasty.[13] Rabbi Israel Friedman allocated funds for the purchase of land for the construction of the synagogue “Tiferet Israel.”[14] Following the completion of the synagogue the representative of the *Admor* from Boyan, Nisan Bak, became its long-term *gabai*. Nisan Bak was the son of the renowned typographer Israel Bak. It was in the typography shop of the elder Bak that the first printed lithographs with the images of the Holy Land made their appearance, including those of the Cave of the Patriarchs and the Graves of the House of King David and the Prophet Samuel, which subsequently became models for synagogue wall paintings, including for those in Novoselytsia.[15] Interestingly, a great-grandson of Nisan Bak was the artist who renovated the murals in Tiferet Israel and painted many synagogues in Israel, whose program bears similarities with the synagogue wall paintings in Novoselytsia (and Chernivtsi).[16]

In conclusion we would like to emphasize that the idea of “Kingdom” was reflected not only in the iconography, but also in the glamorous style of the wall paintings themselves. The stylistics of the images, the elaborate décor of azure and purple tones, and the palatial splendour of the entire composition of the Novoselytsia murals present us with what was likely a remarkable relic of the

"palace style" of the Boyan Hasidim, reproduced in the late nineteenth century by Kanner, and which has become a common artistic heritage.

It should be noted, however, that the most vivid elements of this decorative style were not borrowed from "high art" but from the folk art of the region. In their use of contrasting red and blue hues, multicoloured geometric patterns, floral bouquets made up of roses and wild flowers and the swallows flying in the blue sky, these Jewish masters were very close to the folk art of their Ukrainian and Moldovan neighbours. The murals in Novoselytsia illustrate the influence of local folk art not only in the use of folk decoration, but also in the inclusion in the composition of favourite genres of ambient folk cultures, such as "still life" and animals. It is worth examining from this perspective the symbol of the tribe of "Asher"—a luscious still life of ripe fruit with decanters of yellow Carpathian wine, or the characteristic iconography of animals, such as the deer, lion, and eagle. In addition to being motifs of the *Mishna*, these were also among the favourite images decorating the facades of Ukrainian and Jewish houses and taverns. It was these animals, birds, and flowers that the Ukrainian art historian K. Shyrotsky had described as shared elements of the folk art of Ukrainians and Jews in southern Podolia.[17] But even then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, this folk art was already regarded as history: "Old-timers tell us much about how the houses were decorated in the nineteenth century, and the popularity in Right Bank Ukraine of the so-called *mal'ovani* ("painted") taverns. These taverns were often managed by Jews, who were familiar with the tastes of the local people and knew how to approach them. Besides, the decorative art of Jews who lived among Ukrainian tribes from ancient times was closely related to Ukrainian folk art."[18]

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[1] The murals were discovered in 2008 in the course of an ethnographic expedition of the Russian State University for the Humanities. In 2009 a team of restorers from Kyiv led by Y. Livshits cleaned these murals. See: Livshits, Yulii. "Na grani zabveniia,", *Yehupets'* No.19 (Kyiv: Dukh i Litera, 2010).

[2] Central Archive for the History of Jewish People, Jerusalem, RU 1761.

[3] "contributed to the painting...Fishman"

[4] The Twelve Tribes theme became particularly widespread during the 1920s, but the first compositions with the Twelve Tribes may have appeared earlier, when lithographic

"Mizrach"s printed in Jerusalem and in Europe (Breslau, Prague) began to circulate throughout Eastern Europe. The Israeli art historian Shalom Sabar has shown that the gestation of the Twelve Tribes cycle begins with the festive flags made for the Simchat Torah celebration. See: Shalom Sabar, "The History of the Simchat Torah Flag: From Ritual Object to National Symbol and Back," *The Flags of Simchat Torah: From Popular Jewish Art to Hebrew-Israeli Culture, Eretz Israel Museum* (Tel Aviv, 2012), p.13.

[5] Shitnovitser, Shlomo *Sefer Kehilat Khotyn (Bessarabia).* Irgun Yotsei Khotyn be-Israel, 1974, 53.

[6] Dorner, Shlomo. *Novoselitsa* (Tel Aviv, 1983), 22.

[7] Khaimovich, 24.

[8] Kafri, I. *Yalkut Ayarat Hateomim Novoselitsa* (Shamir Publishers, 1963), 30.

[9] The reference is to the Hebrew original of David Assaf's *The Regal Way: The Life and Times of Rabbi Israel of Ruzhin*, trans. David Louvish (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002) [*Derekh Hamelekh: Rabbi Israel me-Ruzhin u-Mkomo be-Toldot ha-Hasidut* (Jerusalem, 1997), 307.

[10] The name of Jericho, the City of Palm Trees, is taken from the Bible: "And possessed the city of palm trees" (Judges 3:13). The depiction of Jericho among the holy sites goes back to the medieval tradition. See: Rachel Sarfati, "The Illustration of *Yihus ha-Avot*: Folk Art from the Holy Land," in *Offerings from Jerusalem: Portrayals of Holy Places by Jewish Artists* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996).

[11] From the book, *Shivhei ha-Ari* (Jerusalem, 1864).

[12] *Midrash Bamidbar Rabbah* (Wilna, 1887), 12:17; *Midrash Ester Rabbati* (Wilna, 1829), 1.1:12.

[13] *Beit Hamidrash Hagadol Hatzer Hakodesh Sadigora* (Jerusalem, 2000).

[14] Assaf, 297.

[15] Genachowski, Dov. "Pictures of Holy Places as a Fundraising Aid," in *Offerings from Jerusalem: Portrayals of Holy Places by Jewish Artists* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1996).

[16] *Bein Hurva le-Tiferet*. Catalogue curated by Galia Gavish for an exhibit at the Isaac Kaplan Old Yishuv Court Museum (Jerusalem, 2000), 3.

[17] Shyrotsky, K. *Ocherki po istorii dekorativnogo iskusstva Ukrainy* (Kyiv, 1914) 39-40.

[18] Shyrotsky, 25.

The Israelite Hospital in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, 1898–1912: "Jewish" Architecture by an "International" Team

Sergey R. Kravtsov (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

The Israelite Hospital, today the Maternity Hospital, is the most sumptuous Jewish landmark in today's cityscape of Lviv. Its exotic appearance does not raise special attention among fellow citizens who see it every day, who were treated or born there, like were my two sons. My grandfather had undergone a serious operation in 1974 in that hospital, and I was pacing from corner to corner in the vestibule waiting for the results, and gazing at the cupola covered with arabesques. I did not know that soon it would become a maternity hospital, the arabesques would be whitewashed for hygienic reasons, and males would not be allowed in. The structure puzzled me seriously later on, when I became an architectural historian interested in Jewish identities expressed by architectural means.

Fig. 1. *Maurycy Lazarus, portrait by Wilhelm Wachtel, 1903. Borys Voznytsky National Art Gallery of Lviv.*

This hospital is known to most people as the Rappoport Hospital, which is a conflation of the street and institution names. Originally, it was the Israelite Hospital of the Maurycy Lazarus Foundation. The founder was not Professor Moritz Lazarus (1824–1903), German philosopher and psychologist. His namesake, Maurycy Lazarus (1832–1912) was born in a Lviv family, and as a young man took part in the Revolution of 1848 in Vienna (***fig.1***). He dreamed of the Academy of Fine Arts; however, the Academy of Trade was the first to reopen after the revolution, and this decided Lazarus's career as the founder, and for four decades, the director of the Galician Hypothec Bank. Lazarus's experience during his youth as a freedom fighter, his early contacts with needy people, and interest in arts and lite-

rature, saved him from becoming a cartoon capitalist; instead, it turned him into an outstanding philanthropist.[1] His compassion for the miserable was inherited by his daughters: Hermina Sydonia (1872–1951) was married to her "party comrade" Herman Diamand (1860–1931), a socialist party politician and a member of the Austrian and Polish parliaments; she wrote in socialist periodicals under the pen name of Helena Rawska.[2] Her sister, Eleonora Beatrice (1877–1944), a microbiologist, was married to Herman Diamand's youngest brother Aleksander Samuel (1874–1942). She was helping Polish political prisoners and deportees. Their sister Frederyka (1879–1942), one of Janusz Korczak's circle, was a member of the Polish Social Democratic Party, and perished in the Holocaust.[3]

The construction of the hospital in 1898–1903 marked the culmination of Jewish health care in the city. The oldest Jewish hospital was founded by the community senior Mordechai ben Yizhak in about 1600 in his downtown domain. It was disassembled in 1795.[4] The next hospital was built beyond the city walls, on a plot within the Jewish cemetery, which had been in Jewish possession at least from 1414. That hospital was financed from private donations and by a charity established by Izak Warringer (1741–1817). The compound grew slowly from 1800, reaching a capacity of 82 beds in 1902. The patients could observe funerary processions from the windows. The morgue, a ruin under a shingled roof, included the guard's family apartment, and his children played around. To enhance his description of the old hospital, historian Majer Bałaban mentions scores of rats occasionally damaging dead bodies. Most of this hospital was demolished in 1902, only the wing for the incurable remained.[5]

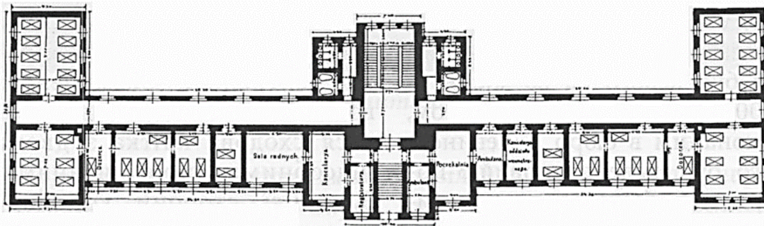


Fig. 2. *The Israelite Hospital, first floor plan, 1898. State Archives of Lviv Oblast (hereafter DALO).*

The new building of the Israelite Hospital was constructed following the initiative and donations of Maurycy Lazarus and his wife Róża Marja, née Jolles, mostly by the autumn of 1902. Their donations reached 660,000 crowns, an equivalent of £36,000,000 today. The new hospital, which was constructed close

to the old one, included 48 rooms above a basement (***fig. 2***). The wards were designed for two, three, and up to ten patients, every ward having a marble basin with cold and hot water.[6] Beside these, there were separate wards for those who could pay, a perfectly equipped operating room, two bathrooms on each floor, central water heating, gas lighting, and two exhausters for ventilation of the wards. The whole building was designed for 100 patients, and the founders had furnished a chapel (actually, a synagogue) on their own account. Two auxiliary buildings housed a kitchen, meeting all demands of hygiene, and a steam laundry with a disinfection system. The hospital was transferred to the possession of the Jewish Community in November 1902.[7] It served Jews and non-Jews alike; the needy Jews of Lviv were treated free of charge, while those from the province paid two, four or eight crowns per day, depending on 'classes' of service. In 1907, 655 men and 489 women were treated in the hospital; the ambulatory services were provided to 2,500 Catholics (probably, of both, Eastern and Western, rites), and to 10,000 Jews.[8]

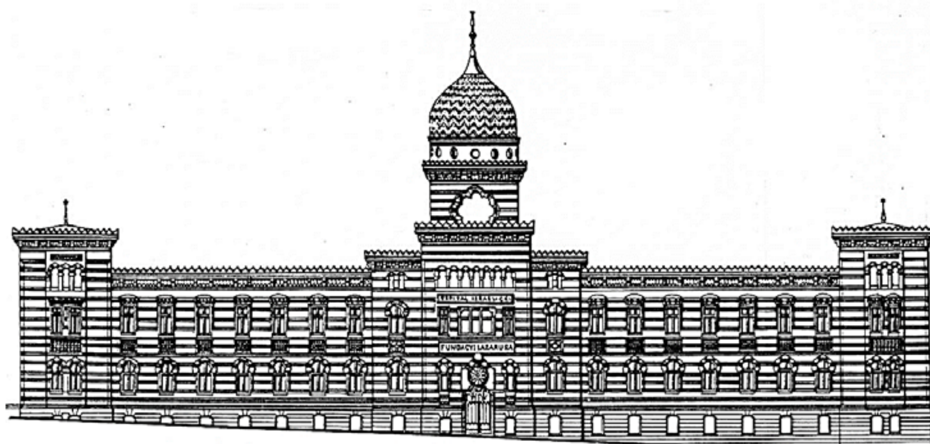


Fig. 3. *The Israelite Hospital, southern facade, 1898. DALO.*

The new hospital included a two-storey front structure, standing on a high basement (***fig. 3***); its symmetry corresponded to the division between male and female patients. The structure was flanked by three-storey wings, and accentuated by a lofty central mass topped with a tall drum, above which is a three-colour tiled onion dome; the finial bore a Star of David. The structure was faced with red and yellow brick, arranged in horizontal strips and Stars of David. The monumental mass was

pierced by pointed, horseshoe-shaped, cusped, and rectangular openings. The street façade bore signage in Polish: *Szpital Izraelicki Fundacyi Lazarusa.* The whole complex was fenced in by open-work, red-brick wall designed by Władysław Godowski in 1902. The main "bijou" of the interior was its vestibule designed in a "pure Moorish style" and painted by the Fleck brothers, well known for their decoration of public buildings and synagogues. "An absolute novelty" became the hanging gardens for the patients, alluding to those of Babylon, one of the Seven Wonders of the World.[9] Most wards faced Rappaport Street, while the the corridor faced the backyard, and enabled good ventilation. The main staircase acquired a niche with a marble bust of the founder (***fig. 4***) by the renowned Polish sculptor, Antoni Popiel (1865–1910).[10]

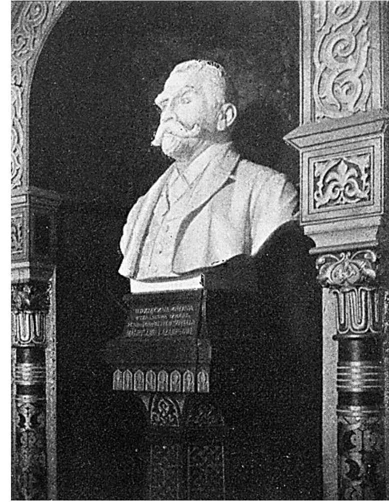


Fig. 4. *Bust of Maurycy Lazarus by Antoni Popiel. From Henryk Mehrer, Szpital lwowskiej gminy wyznaniowej izraelickiej (Lviv, 1906)*

Urban folklore asserts that the 1903 bust was preserved under Soviet rule, since it had been creatively attributed to the Russian surgeon Nikolai Pirogov (***fig. 5***). At a second glance, the bust is actually a product of Soviet times, a monument to Pirogov (well known from his portrait by Ilia Repin), rather than Lazarus (portrayed, beside Popiel, by Wilhelm Wachtel and Maurycy Trębacz).[11]

The overall style of the hospital was recognized by contemporary as "Moorish".[12] It would be called "'Romanesque oriental'" in the next decade.[13] This style had a particular history in the Habsburg Empire. First introduced by

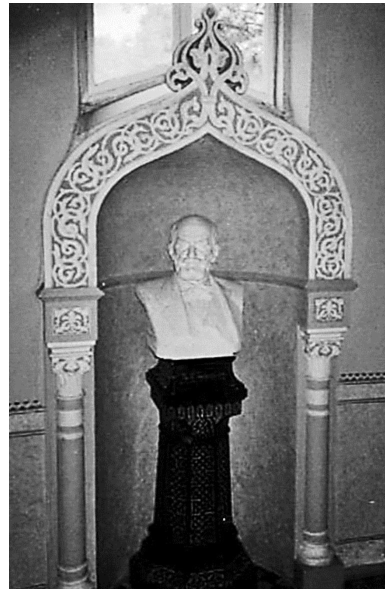


Fig. 5. *Bust of Nikolai Pirogov replacing the original bust of Lazarus. Photograph by Joseph Gelston, 1990s*

Ludwig Förster (1797–1863) and Theophilus Hansen (1813–1891) in the Baron Adolf Pereira's villa in 1847, it was supposed to "express the romantic, and

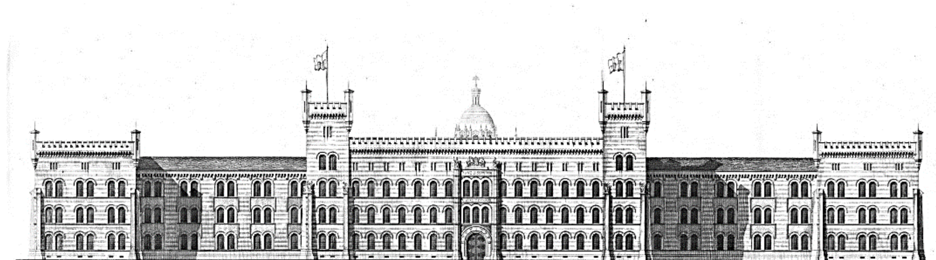


Fig. 6. *Invalidenhaus in Lviv, architect Theophilus Hansen. From Allgemeine Bauzeitung, 1860.*

adopted forms in the Byzantine and related Arab way of building,"[14] thus poetically expressing Pereira's Sephardic Jewish roots. After the Revolution of 1848, the same architects merged their oriental style with Romanesque and other stylistic elements, mostly borrowed from the Habsburg's historical domains, including Spain, Italy, and German lands. This style replaced the officious Neo-Classicism of the *Vormärz*, and in much later literature received the name, Romantic Historicism.[15] Hansen himself pretentiously called this style "the Viennese Renaissance,"[16] thus emphasizing its political signification, rather than fidelity to the Italian sources. Due to its synthetic nature, this style was easily tuned towards the diverse identities of varied clients. In the late 1840s and 1850s, Förster and Hansen applied this style to the Orthodox[17] and Protestant churches,[18] an all-purpose chapel,[19] and synagogues,[20] as well as to monumental imperial projects like the *Waffenmuseum* in Vienna (1852–56) and *Invalidenhaus* in Lviv (1855–60, ***fig. 6***). It became the style of an empire embracing both East and West, in which diverse religions harmoniously coexisted under the enlightened liberal regime.[21]

The novel style was adopted also for the needs of Ukrainian community. The Ruthenian National Institute in Lviv (*Narodnyi Dim,* 1851–64, ***fig. 7***) was constructed in this very style after a design by Wilhelm Schmidt.[22] This master builder, born in the German colony of Weinbergen, otherwise known as the Lviv suburban Vynnyky, worked in the Galician metropolis.[23] The plot of the Ruthenian Institute once housed the Trinitarian Monastery, which was converted

into the Lviv University by Emperor Joseph II, and burned down during the revolutionary events of 1848. Emperor Franz Joseph I "rewarded" with this plot

Fig. 7. *The Ruthenian National Institute in Lviv, by architect Wilhelm Schmidt. Photograph by Josef Eder, ca. 1870. Lviv National V. Stefanyk Library.*

the Ruthenian community of Lviv for its loyalty during that turbulent year. The Emperor laid the cornerstone of the future Ruthenian Institute and a church during his visit to Lviv in 1851.[24] Thus, the whole project gained a sound imperial loyalist meaning. However, the exterior appearance of the Ruthenian National Institute was far less expressive than the Viennese examples of Romantic Historicism, and those built by Viennese architects outside the capital, since it was designed by Schmidt, who worked for decades in the provincial Lviv as an adept of the "Biedermeier Classicism".[25] Unlike its polychrome brick analogues, the Ruthenian National Institute was plainly plastered. Indeed, a polychrome open brick-work would have been inappropriate in the surrounding of the evenly plastered Lviv downtown.

In the "Jewish" renditions of the new style—the synagogues of Vienna and Pest—Förster further coined its specifically Jewish means: he introduced the idea of Solomon's Temple, thereby charging his design with additional authority.[26]

He never used cupolas in synagogues, an element alien to the Temple of Jerusalem as it is described in the Bible. This was proposed by the prominent German architect Gottfried Semper (1803–1879), who interpreted the synagogue

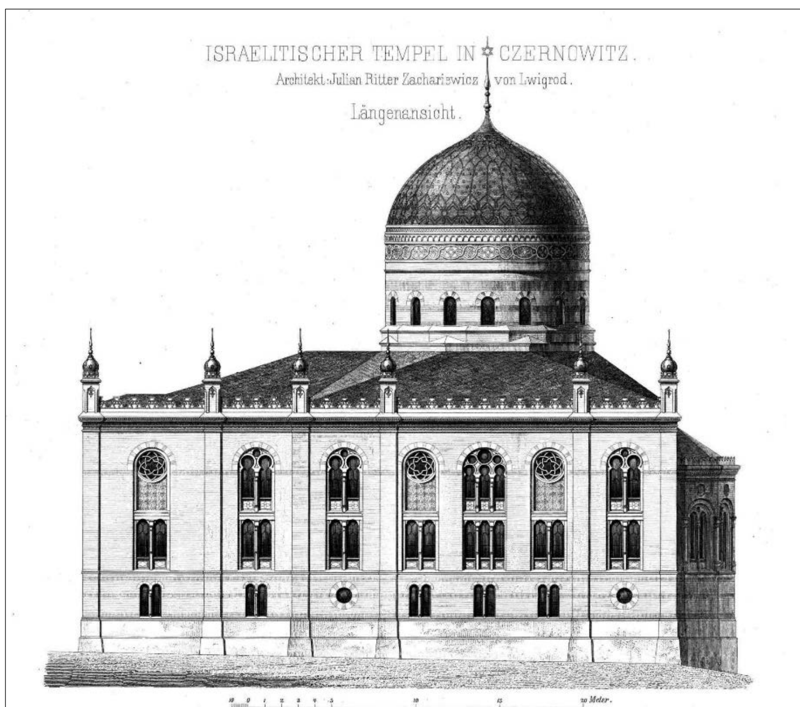


Fig. 8. *The Progressive Synagogue in Chernivtsi, architect Julian Zachariewicz. From Allgemeine Bauzeitung, 1882.*

cupola as "the seven heavens of the Old Testament." [27] This signification was implied by Julian Zachariewicz (1837–1898), a rising Vienna-educated architect, in his design for the Progressive Synagogue in Chernivtsi (1873–78, ***fig. 8***). He explicated this meaning of the cupola in the presentation of his later work on the Progressive Synagogue in Lviv (before 1894), where Lazarus headed the building committee. [28] These two new synagogues employed domes also as monumental means to demonstrate Jewish presence in the cityscape outside the old Jewish quarters. In the case of the Israelite Hospital, the dome, quite similar in its "oriental" skyline to that of the Progressive Synagogue of Chernivtsi, was

borrowed for a secular Jewish building. Though the hospital was not a synagogue, its lofty cupola appeared appropriate, pointing to the heavenly, and not the terrestrial, sphere.

Fig. 9. *The Israelite Hospital, and School of St. Anna (on the right), by architect Juliusz Hochberger. Photograph by Khrystyna Boyko, 2008.*

The idea of brick facing—which according to Förster, referred to the archaeological discoveries in the Middle East, but according to Hansen, to Byzantium—was merged in the second half of the nineteenth century with the technique of Brick Gothic. This technique gave way to efficient and sustainable constructions especially suited to meet educational, public health, and penitentiary needs. In this capacity, it was applied to the St. Anna School (***fig. 9***), constructed by architect Juliusz Hochberger (1840–1905) in 1884 on the corner of St. Anna Street, leading to the future hospital. Though a product of typical school architecture in Europe, it bore suggestive vestiges of Romantic Historicism, visible in material, adornment, and fenestration. Thus, the Israelite Hospital became only

a new stage in a long-standing architectural and urban process, a nexus between the *Invalidenhaus* on Kleparowska Street running on its west (***fig. 6***), and St. Anna School on its south. From the outset, it was meticulously inscribed into Lviv's urban context on the principles of propriety.

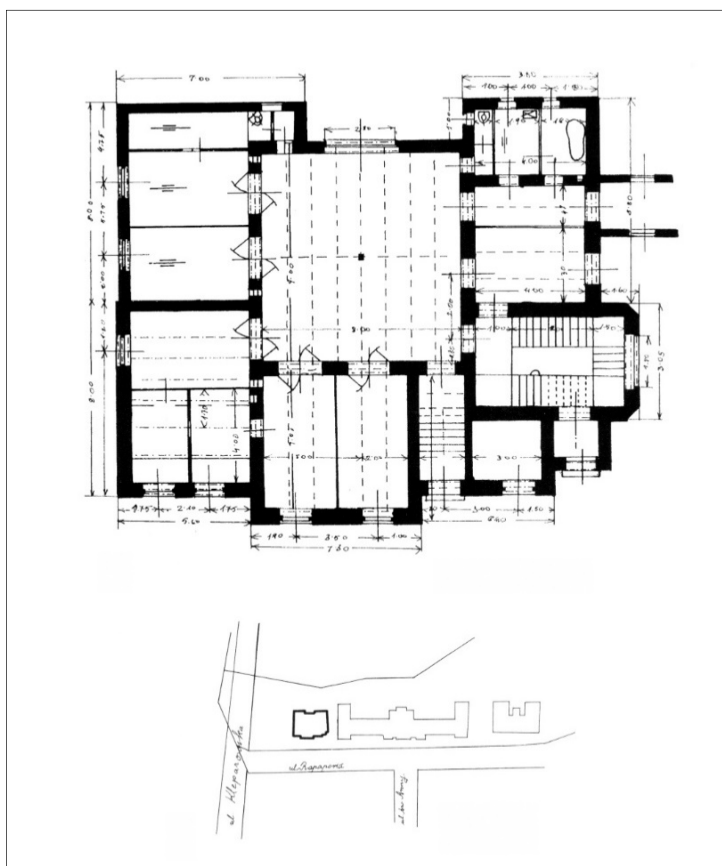


Fig. 10. *The ambulatory of the Israelite Hospital, ground plan and site plan by architects Roman Feliński and Michał Ulam, 1912. DALO.*

The propriety of the hospital as a new prominent Jewish feature in the urban landscape was supported by the venerably old usage of the plot, which had been in Jewish hands for five centuries. It this case, Jewish urban visibility did not arise as a result of any new acquisitions, as, for instance, was the case with the

Progressive Synagogue, increasingly annoying the non-Jews.[29] For the public health and welfare infrastructure of the city, the Israelite Hospital was most appropriate.

The style of the hospital, despite its exoticism, was quite conservative, reminiscent of the styles that were fashionable in the 1850s–60s, when the career of Maurycy Lazarus was rising. Julian Zachariewicz, who had used the "Moorish" style in 1870s, deprecatingly called it "conventional" in 1896.[30] By 1900, the assimilated Jews of Vienna shied away from this style, turning towards Romanesque and Gothic as truly Germanic styles, now circulated by assimilated architects like Jacob Gartner (1861–1921) and Max Fleischer (1841–1905) in Jewish sacred, secular, and funerary architecture. The ‘Moorish’ style survived in the provinces. Alternatively, it was popularized, even in Vienna, for the Polish Rite Synagogue, by the Viennese architect Wilhelm Stiassny (1842–1910). Many of Stiassny’s works at the turn of century, including his protuberant "Moorish" Jubilee Synagogue in Prague (1905–6), were highly exotic. Several reasons might be put forward to explain their exuberant otherness: firstly, Stiassny’s Zionist affiliation, and thus his protest against shying away from Jewishness. Secondly, the Jubilee Synagogue was complementary to the emperor celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of his reign, the period when Austrian Jews attained full rights, and at which point the very expression of Romantic Historicism proclaimed the fall of the *ancien régime*. This conjecture is supported by the overwhelmingly "Moorish" expression of another Jubilee Synagogue, the Orthodox Synagogue of Tarnów (by Władysław Ekielski, 1865–1908).[31] The "Moorish" style of the Israelite Hospital should also be seen as a jubilee retrospection. Indeed, Lazarus explicitly proclaimed his desire “to celebrate the fiftieth jubilee of the reign of Franz Joseph I, to build the new hospital.”[32] Simultaneously, Lazarus was honouring himself as the freedom fighter of 1848, celebrating his seventieth birthday in 1902.

This ambitious project was carried out by an "international" team. Ivan Levynsky’s firm was hired as the contractor. This outstanding architect and businessman was born in Dolyna, to a Ukrainian father and a Bavarian mother in 1851, went to primary school at Stryi, and Secondary school (Wyższa Szkoła Realna) in Lviv; in 1874 he graduated from the Lviv Technical Academy. He organized a gigantic enterprise, which in its better years employed about thousand workers sixteen hours a day. Levyns’kyi was designing, building, and supervising; he produced brick, ceramics, gypsum, concrete, artificial

stone, stained glass, and many other construction supplies. He worked on the best commissions, including the Opera House and the new Railway Station of Lviv; he managed about 200 construction sites simultaneously. All this was done parallel to a professorship at his *alma mater*. Levynsky was a Ukrainian patriot: he is honoured as the creator of the "Ukrainian Secession Style" in architecture, a philanthropist, founder of cultural, technical, and educational Ukrainian societies including Prosvita, and for his social welfare work. The collapse of his enterprise—ruined during the World War—and his sudden death in 1919 was associated with persecutions by the Polish government in retaliation for his support of the Ukrainian cause.[33] However, Levynsky's company was hired to construct the Israelite Hospital not for its ideas of Ukrainian national style, but rather for their unbeaten reputation as solid engineers, for their being so well-suited to this very ambitious commission.

The hospital project was prepared in 1898–1901 by Levynsky's Polish employee Kazimierz Mokłowski. He was born in Kosiv in 1869, and in 1882–89 studied at the Secondary school in Stanislaviv. In 1889 Mokłowski enrolled at the Polytechnic Academy in Lviv, but as a member of the Socialist Democratic Party of Galicia, was expelled in 1892 "for organizing illegal assemblies." Mokłowski unsuccessfully attempted to continue his training in Vienna and Zurich, and instead became further involved in socialist politics. Unwelcome everywhere as a radical, he moved to Prussia, then to Saxony, and in 1894 to Munich, where he graduated from the *Technische Hochschule* in 1896. He worked in Munich for a short time, then relocated to Lviv in 1897, where he was employed by Levynsky. For the next three years he was entrusted with the project of the Israelite Hospital. Mokłowski's most personal work was an apartment house at 38 Piekarska Street, designed in 1905 in the Polish National Romanticist Zakopane Style.[34] In this project, Mokłowski used brick rustication to imitate wooden logs of vernacular Carpathian architecture. Mokłowski was restless as a socialist politician and prominent as a conservator of built monuments, ethnographer, architectural historian, and theorist. He was known for his field expeditions and publications, mainly for his monograph *Folk Art in Poland* of 1903. In this work, he argued with historian Matthias Bersohn, who suggested that wooden synagogues in Poland were original Jewish monuments, and ultimately with the Polish national poet Adam Mickiewicz

about the traditions of the carpenters of the Biblical King Hiram of Tyre allegedly surviving in Poland. In Mokłowski's opinion, the wooden synagogues of Poland were a surrogate for an ancient nobleman's manor and genuine products of Polish vernacular architectture.[35] In later years, Mokłowski's theory, among other factors, would contribute to the contextualizing of synagogue architecture in Polish pre-partition culture, and lead to a general rejection of the "Moorish" style together with other historicist conventions.[36] However, Mokłowski the architect employed the "Moorish" expression as the most appropriate in his project for the Israelite Hospital, completed simultaneously with his important book.

The next stage in the construction of the hospital took place in 1912, when a new ambulatory wing was commissioned from the architectural firm of Michał Ulam (1879–1938). This successful Jewish architect and industrialist was born in Lviv, and established his business in 1903.[37] Ulam was the son-in-law of the Progressive Chief Rabbi of Lviv, Jecheskiel Caro (1844–1915), who in turn was a descendant of the Maharal of Prague (ca. 1520–1609). In the twentieth century, the most renowned representative of the family would become Ulam's nephew Stanisław, one of the creators of the American H-bomb.[38] The new wing of the hospital was designed by Michał Ulam's associate Roman Feliński (1886–1953). Born in Lviv, he studied at the Secondary school, and at the Polytechnic School as of 1903, where he passed his first state exam in 1905; he then left for studies in Munich, at the *Technische Hochschule*, where he graduated in 1908, and completed his training in Paris in 1909. On his return home, Feliński briefly worked for the firm of Alfred Zachariewicz & Oskar Sosnowski, and in 1910–15 for Ulam as his principal designer and supervisor. He carried out 25 projects in five years; he also spent eleven months abroad, improving his qualifications. In 1911, he married Ulam's daughter Róża, who subsequently converted to the Catholic religion. He would hide her from the Nazis during World War II.[39] Ulam and Feliński were remarkable modernists. For instance, the Magnus department store (1912–13) featured concrete frame construction, an open plan, and modernist glazing. Their "Jewish" work of those years, the *Beit Tahara* (1911–13), was also a modernist structure. Its historicist references were unrelated to any revivalism; they were creative allusions to what could be considered "Jewish". The new wing of the Israelite Hospital was also a modernist project (***figs. 10, 11***), featuring a functional ground plan, dynamic massing, and concrete and steel constructions.

However, the overall exterior appearance was ultimately contextual. The red and yellow brick-work, pointed windows, cornices and the parapet, all aimed at merging the new annex with the existing "Moorish" structure in a single ensemble, retaining the initial stylistics. The leading design criterion for this stage of the Israelite Hospital was again propriety.

Propriety was undoubtedly one of the central features of Lviv's culture, art, architecture, and urban planning, particularly in the early twentieth century. Avant-garde art was not close to the hearts of fellow citizens, as appears from exhibition reports.[40] The harmonious urban effect resulting from this conservativeness was, and still is, loved by both citizens and visitors. The Israelite Hospital was one of the highly contextual projects, on a large urban scale and within the ensemble itself. Its exotic "Jewish" style did not overstep conventions established in the preceding half century, and was only charged with some nuances of the founders' personal, liberal, and imperial loyalist significations. The "Jewish" elements pointed to the remote oriental roots of the religious community, but by no means to any Zionist destination. In order to construct the hospital, teams of architects and artists, craftsmen and workers—be they Jews, Poles, or Ukrainians—overstepped their own ambitions, put aside their

Fig. 11. *The Israelite Hospital, view from southwest, the ambulatory is seen on the left, photograph ca. 1914. Lviv Historical Museum.*

important cultural, social, and academic projects, and worked together, investing great efforts for an appropriate remuneration. The final product was so well-suited to the city that its visible shell survived the community for which, and by which, it was constructed. It is still serving the citizens of Lviv, though its meaning of an architectural and urban statement is effectively forgotten.

[1] Feuerstein, Henryk. "Lazarus, życie i czyny lwowskiego filantropa," in [Majer Bałaban ed.], *Almanach żydowski wydany przez Hermana Stachla, zawierający szereg artykułów wybitnych literatów, polityków i publicystów oraz życiorysy czołowych postaci Małopolski Wschodniej* (Lviv, 1937), 216–19.

[2] Loewenstein, Stanisław. [Foreword], in Diamand, Herman. *Pamiętnik Hermana Diamanda zebrany z wyjątków listów do żony* (Kraków, 1932); idem, "Diamand, Herman," in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 5 (Warsaw, 1939–46), 151–53; Romaniuk, Marian. "Henryk Diamand (1860–1931)", *Przegląd socjalistyczny*, 5 (14) (2007) 90–96.

[3] Konarski, Stanisław. "Lazarusówna, Frederyka," in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol.16 (Warsaw, 1971), 588–9.

[4] Bałaban, Majer. *Dzielnica żydowska, jej dzieje i zabytki* (Lviv, 1909)*,* 69.

[5] Bałaban, Majer. "Szpital żydowski we Lwowie," *Wschód* 108 (1902): 4.

[6] By the way, my newborn son was washed with water from a kettle, because in 1988 there was no running water! – S.K.

[7] Bałaban, "Szpital żydowski," 4; Henryk Mehrer, *Szpital lwowskiej gminy wyznaniowej izraelickiej fundacji Maurycego Lazarusa* (Lviv, 1906), 8–12.

[8] Józef Wiczkowski, *Lwów, jego rozwój i stan kulturalny oraz przewodnik po mieście* (Lviv, 1907), 319, 477.

[9] Bałaban, "Szpital żydowski," 4.

[10] Biriulov, Yurii. "The Work of Jewish Sculptors in Lviv, 1919–1941," the lecture at the international conference *The Ukrainian and Jewish Artistic and Architectural Milieus of Lwów/Lemberg/Lviv: From Ausgleich to the Holocaust*, held at the Center for Urban History of East Central Europe on November 5–7, 2012, in Lviv.

[11] Maurycy Lazarus's protraits are stored at the Borys Voznytsky National Art Gallery of Lviv and the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

[12] Bałaban, "Szpital żydowski," 4.

[13] Piotrowski, Josef. *Lemberg: Handbuch für Kunstliebhaber u. Reisende* (Lviv, 1916), 144.

[14] [Förster, Ludwig]. "Die Baron Pereira'sche Willa aus der Herrschaft Königstetten im Tullnerboden nächst Wien," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1849): 107. English translation of the quote by Rudolf Klein.

[15] Wagner-Rieger, Renate. *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1971), 95–102.

[16] Muthesius, Stefan. "Renate Wagner-Rieger and Mara Reissenberg, *Theophil von Hansen* (Die Wiener Ringstrasse, Bild einer Epoche, vol. 4 Section VIII) (Wiesbaden, 1980)," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42, no. 1 (1983): 80–81.

[17] The Greek Orthodox Church in Vienna I (1857).

[18] The Evangelical Church in Gumpendorf, Vienna VI (1849).

[19] The chapel at the *Invalidenhaus*, Lviv (1855–60).

[20] Synagogues in Tempelgasse, Vienna II (1856–58), and in Dohány Street, Budapest (1854–59).

[21] Kravtsov, Sergey R. "Jewish Identities in Synagogue Architecture of Galicia and Bukovina," *Ars Judaica* 6 (2010): 94.

[22] Vuitsyk, Volodymyr. "Narodnyi Dim u L'vovi," *Visnyk instytutu "Ukrzakhidproektrestavratsia"* 14 (2004): 165. The edifice was built under supervision of then young architect Sylwester Hawryszkiewicz (1833–1911).

[23] Łoza, Stanisław. *Słownik architektów i budowniczych Polaków oraz cudzoziemców w Polsce pracujących* (Warsaw, 1931), 301.

[24] Prokopovych, Markian. *Habsburg Lemberg: Architecture, Public Space, and Politics in the Galician Capital, 1772–1914* (West Lafayette, 2009), 146–9.

[25] Biriulow, Jurii. *Rzeźba lwowska od połowy XVIII wieku do 1939 roku* (Warsaw, 2007), 26–27.

[26] Förster, Ludwig. "Das israelitische Bethhaus in der Wiener Vorstadt Leopoldstadt," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1859): 14.

[27] Semper, [Gottfried]. "Die Synagoge zu Dresden," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1847): 127.

[28] "Sprawozdanie ze zgromadzenia odb. d. 29 stycznia r.b.," *Czasopismo techniczne,* 14, no. 5 (1896): 58.

[29] Cf. Jan Sas-Zubrzycki, *Zabytki miasta Lwowa* (Lviv, 1928), 6.

[30] "Sprawozdanie ze zgromadzenia," 58.

[31] Kravtsov, Sergey R. "Architecture of 'New' Synagogues in Central-Eastern Europe," in *Reform Judaism and Architecture*, Andreas Brämer and Harmen H. Thies eds. (Petersberg, 2016), in press.

[32] Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, fond 701, opys 2, sprava 1559, f. 55. Lazarus meant to mark the year 1898, when the decision to found the hospital was taken.

[33] Kos, Anna and Onyshchenko, Lilia. *Spadshchyna velykoho budivnychoho: Profesor L'vivs'koi Politekhniky Ivan Levyns'kyi (1851–1919)* (Lviv, 2009), passim; Zhuk,Ihor. *L'viv Levyns'koho: misto i budivnychyi* (Kyiv, 2010), passim.

[34] Bieńkowski, Wiesław. "Mokłowski Kazimierz Julian," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 21 (Warsaw, 1976), 582–5; Biriulow, Jurii. *Lwów: Ilustrowany przewodnik* (Lviv, 2003), 222. Mokłowski became an advocate of the Zakopane Style in 1901; see: Kitowska-Łysiak, Małgorzata "Kazimierz Mokłowski (1869–1905) i jego stanowisko w sprawie tzw. stylu narodowego w architekturze polskiej", *Lud* 70 (1986): 105–23.

[35] Mokłowski, Kazimierz. *Sztuka ludowa w Polsce* (Lviv, 1903), 352, 424–443.

[36] Kravtsov, Sergey R. "Józef Awin on Jewish Art and Architecture," in *Jewish Artists and Central-Eastern Europe: Art Centers – Identity – Heritage from the 19th Century to*

the Second World War, ed. Jerzy Malinowski, Renata Piątkowska, and Tamara Sztyma-Knasiecka (Warsaw, 2010), 135; idem, "Studies of Jewish Architecture in Central–Eastern Europe in Historical Perspective," in *The History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Jerzy Malinowski, vol. 1 (Toruń, 2012), 184.

[37] "Ulam Michał," in [Majer Bałaban ed.], *Almanach żydowski wydany przez Hermana Stachla, zawierający szereg artykułów wybitnych literatów, polityków i publicystów oraz życiorysy czołowych postaci Małopolski Wschodniej* (Lviv, 1937), 599–600.

[38] Ulam, Stanislaw M. *Adventures of a Mathematician* (Berkeley, 1991), 109.

[39] Lewicki, Jakub. *Roman Feliński, architekt i urbanista: Pioner nowoczesnej architektury* (Warsaw, 2007), 13–15.

[40] Clegg, Elizabeth. "'Futurists, Cubists and the Like': Early Modernism and Late Imperialism," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 56, no. 2 (1993): 249–77.

Parallels in Ukrainian and Jewish "National Styles" in Art in the First Third of the Twentieth Century

Vita Susak (Lviv National Gallery of Art)

Researchers who focus on one concrete event in art and study it in depth tend to use the term "phenomenon" to describe it as something unique, inimitable, and with no analogues—for example, the phenomenon of the "Kultur-Lige" in Jewish art and the phenomenon of Boichukism in Ukrainian art. The designation "phenomenon" is justified in the sense that, generally speaking, everything in the world is unique and one of a kind. But it is also true that any cultural trend develops within a certain historical context. The context determines its orientation, theoretical positions, and formal language. On this level, a phenomenon can be replicated and develop simultaneously in neighbouring cultural environments in ways that are comparable.

Efforts undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to create "national styles" followed on processes that had taken place during most of the nineteenth century—in particular, the penchant for historicism and eclecticism, the failed attempts to forge a single grand style, and the painstaking search for a new style. One of the first such efforts was the Arts and Crafts movement initiated by William Morris (1834–1896). The fact that Morris opened a factory, mastered different kinds of crafts on his own, and tried to emulate medieval English patterns shows that his work was based on a certain program and a conscious attempt to create a new artistic style. Many European countries saw the successful realization of similar artistic projects, which came to be known as the Modern style, Art Nouveau, Jugendstil, or the Secession.

For peoples who had their own state—the French, the Germans, the English—this quest was primarily about responding to aesthetic and artistic needs. In comparison, many peoples of central and eastern Europe, who did not have a nation-state of their own (because they had either lost it or had just begun striving for it) faced the problem of not just finding a style, but a distinctive national style of their own. For Poles, this objective was served by the activities of the *Młoda Polska* ("Young Poland") association and the creators of Zakopane style—both of whom turned to the popular arts of the mountainous Tatry region.

Creation of a national style was also a concern for the Finns and Hungarians, as was evident at the World Exhibition of 1900 in Paris. The Finnish pavilion, bearing the distinctive features of traditional wooden architecture, was an artistic expression of opposition to Russian colonization. For his part, the Hungarian architect Ödön Lechner proclaimed that “if a Hungarian [artistic] language did not exist, it needs to be created.”[1] Art was responding to a certain social demand on the part of peoples that were in the process of active nation-building.

In this context, the developments in Ukrainian and Jewish art unfolded nearly simultaneously, on parallel tracks. In the Ukrainian case, efforts aimed at creating a national style produced a school for the revival of Byzantine art or "Boichukism," led by Mykhailo Boichuk (1882–1937), and spurred the exploration of different graphic styles by Hryhorii Narbut (1886–1920). In Jewish art, Ephraim Lilien (1874–1925) worked on developing a formal Jewish style in graphics. Like Boichuk, Lilien hailed from Galicia. The next steps were the founding of the Bezalel school of arts and crafts in Jerusalem in 1906 by Boris Schatz (1867–1932), the initial publication of an arts journal in Paris by the "Makhmadim" group (1911–1912), and finally the activities of the artistic section of the Kultur-Lige in Kyiv (1918–1924).

This paper focuses on those people (and movements) for whom the creation of a national style was of programmatic significance. The aim is to compare the Ukrainian and Jewish approaches in this regard, to point out the similarities and distinctive features, and to examine them from a number of angles.

Chronologically, both of these consciously programmatic projects occurred within the first third of the twentieth century. Geographically, they occurred in the same general area—the territory of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. It is noteworthy that the two new national artistic identities—the Jewish and the Ukrainian—actively evolved on both sides of the border. The difference was that the revival of Ukrainian culture was consciously implemented on the Ukrainians' *own* territory, where they had yet to attain statehood. In the Jewish case, the Promised Land was far away in the Middle East, though the movement towards Mount Zion was gaining momentum. It was the lack of their own territory that caused Martin Buber to doubt the possibility of creating a Jewish national art.[2] In the context of the distinctively Jewish experience of this period, however, the philosopher's doubts were answered by two specific developments. The first was the return to the Land of Israel and the founding of the Bezalel

School in 1906. The second was the rise of the ideology of Yiddishism, based on the conviction that Yiddish was a valid national language and that the development of modern Jewish culture was possible in the Diaspora. The Yiddishist Jewish intelligentsia did not plan to leave Europe. Instead they attached importance to elaborating a strategy for creating national art, inspired by new trends and explorations in European art. This challenge was taken up by the artistic section of the Kultur-Lige.

Paris was another geographic location of immense significance for the acceleration of these artistic processes in eastern Europe. The artistic capital of the world at that time exerted a profound influence on the ideological evolution of both Boris Schatz, who studied in Paris in 1889-1895 (under M. Antokolsky) and Joseph Chaikov, one of the members of the Makhmadim group who studied in Paris in 1910-13 (under Nahum Aronson).[3] It was also in Paris that the theoretical tenets of Boichukism were formulated. Boichuk lived in Paris in 1907-1910 and attended the class of Paul Sérusier at the Académie Ranson together with like-minded friends.[4]

The formation of the Jewish and Ukrainian "national styles" also happened under similar sociohistorical conditions. From the outset, an important component was the resistance to oppression and restrictions imposed by empires and dominant nations. In the Ukrainian case, the quest for originality was a response to natural assimilation processes, which became even more pronounced as assimilation became forced. In the Jewish case, the "stimulants" were augmented by deprivations experienced in the Pale of Settlement and pogroms.

The pinnacle of development for both the Ukrainian and Jewish "national" cultural projects occurred within several years after the end of the First World War and the revolutionary events in Kyiv (1918–1922). Paradoxically, the years that were harshest politically and economically also witnessed a remarkable surge in creative energy in the arts and the realm of ideas. The Soviet authorities began reining in the Jewish revival already in the early 1920s. The Ukrainian revival was allowed to continue a little longer, but the payback for "nationalism" under the totalitarian system was inevitable. Boichuk and his students were executed in 1937.

With regard to their stylistic categorization, both projects were launched within the framework of the Modern style—a likewise deliberately created European style. As a result, national sentiments were no longer exclusively focused on detailed illustration of the past, but also began to use plastic "arguments."[5] Among the Ukrainian artists, the stylistics of Modernism (Secession) influenced the creative works of Mykhailo Zhuk, Modest Sosenko, Mykola Burachek, and others. Vivid examples of the same trend in Jewish art can

be found in the work of Lilien, which bore the distinctive marks of the German Jugendstil (for example, in his famous illustrations to the Bible). One should note that in both cases the Modern style was accompanied by national elements, such as ornamental motifs and details of clothing. (***fig. 1, 2***)

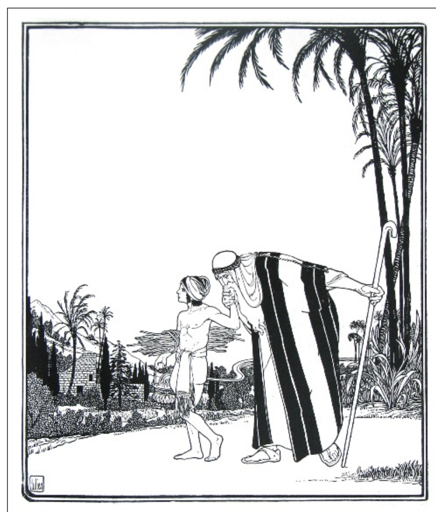


Fig. 1. *I. Buriachok, cover for the poetry anthology The Ukrainian Muse, 1908.*

Fig. 2. *E. Lilien, Abraham and Isaac, illustration to the Bible, reproduced in the catalogue of the personal exhibition by E. Lilien in Lviv in 1914.*

In the early twentieth century, representatives of the different cultures embarked on a quest for sources to mark their originality and distinctive features. This quest led the artists to look into the past, and especially the distant past. It led them to discard the European academic tradition and to embrace their own popular folk arts. The approach was common to all, but the details of orientation naturally differed. For Jews these were "lions, candleholders, signs of the Zodiac, Torahs, *tallits* [prayer shawls], deer, *Mogen Dovids* [Stars of David], the symbolic hands...and other items characteristic of the Jewish environment and attributes of everyday life."[6] Importantly, it was at this time also that the systematic study and documentation of the artifacts of Jewish culture began. A well-known example was the 1916 ethnographic expedition of El Lissitzky and Isakhar Ber Rybak, commissioned by the Jewish historical-ethnographic society, during which they documented the wooden synagogues along the banks of the Dnieper River.

Ukrainian art of this period took a similar turn towards popular folk themes, such as *pysankas* (painted Easter eggs), *rushnyks* (embroidered cloths/towels), carpets, toys, candlesticks, and depictions of the archetypal figure of the Cossack Mamai. They also discovered the artistic value of icons, accompanied by a re-evaluation of the Byzantine heritage and the heritage of Old Rus'.

This trend coincides with the beginning of the systematic scholarly exploration of the Ukrainian cultural heritage, its restoration, and the creation of the first collections. In 1905, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky founded what was later to become the National Museum in Lviv and began collecting Ukrainian icons. Sheptytsky, who had the financial means, may be credited for his distinctive contribution to the formation of the Ukrainian style by deliberately guiding and stimulating the cultural process. Although he was a clergyman, he enabled the development of secular Ukrainian art. Not only did he collect traces of the past, but he also gave stipends to talented young artists, enabling them to study abroad. It is doubtful if the School for the Revival of Byzantine Art, which became a notable phenomenon at the Salon des Indépendants in 1910, would have come to fruition without Sheptytsky's three-year-long sponsorship of Boichuk's stay in Paris. As the art critic Mykola Holubets later observed: "It is impossible to imagine what the art of Galicia would have looked like today if one man with the ambitions of a Medici and ready to support those who needed it had not graced St. George's hill at the right time."[7] (St. George's Cathedral on the hill of the same name in Lviv was the Metropolitan's seat.) Following his return from Paris, Boichuk worked at restoring icons at the National Museum in Lviv. He had a deep knowledge of the icons and assembled his own collection of popular art works.

Once attention focused on the people's own cultural heritage as the basis for a new national art style, there was the question of how to deal with it and what exactly to emphasize. One can compare the theoretical principles posited by Rybak and B. Aronson in their programmatic article "The Paths of Jewish Painting: Musings of an Artist" (1919) with Boichuk's views as expressed in a letter he sent from Paris to Metropolitan Sheptytsky in 1910. The Jewish artists wrote:

> The task of art is to reveal plastic forms—that which is universal and all-encompassing—even though different peoples implement these forms in different ways.[8]

> The essence of the national in art consists in identifying abstract artistic sensations by means of a peculiar material of perception. When we analyze the ‘how,’ it turns out that the French gravitate towards light tones and picturesqueness; German art is characterized by dryness and definitive lines of the drawing, and at times a nearly complete lack of painting; the Jews prefer the analytical-synthetic grey colouring and dark half tones; the Italians lean towards fresco painting, and Byzantians are distinguished by intensity, simplicity of lines, exhiliration and religious motifs in painting.[9]

Boichuk wrote to Sheptytsky in a similar vein:

> I became convinced...that it is not enough to observe natural phenomena; these also need to be captured in a (summarized) synthetic form and grounded in generations-long observations and the traditional heritage….We can find an example of an impeccable use of form by the Byzantines who lived alongside the Ukrainian people and for centuries exerted a direct influence on Ukrainian culture[10].

In both the Ukrainian and the Jewish cases, ideologues for the creation of national styles were convinced that the focus had to be on form rather than on themes, and that the form should be based on the national heritage while reflecting contemporary reality.

Fig. 3. *M. Boichuk, Ukrainian Girl. Early 1910s. Tempera on cardboard. Lviv Art Gallery, Yaroslava Muzyka Fund.*

Understandably, the Ukrainian and Jewish plastic languages differed. The descriptors that come to mind for Boichukism include monumentality, generalization, statuesque stances (stasis), and hierarchical shapes. Neobyzantianism typically embodies frozen forms and a hierararchy of figures. Boichuk aimed to create a unified Ukrainian style that would encompass all applications, “from architecture to pysanky,” though he himself continued to give priority to monumental painting. As an example of Boichuk's style, rather than portraying a specific girl, Boichuk tried to produce a synthesized image of a Ukrainian wo man by depicting on her face, but also the overall pose not only the emotions of the body expressing the state of her soul. (***fig. 3, 4***)

For the art of the "People of the Book," a vital source for creating form was found in the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. As stated by B. Aronson: "not the meaning of a letter or the sound that it transmitted, but its independent signification! The Hebrew letter on its own is a bud from which an ornamental tapestry can be developed…Unlike a letter of the Latin alphabet, which does not possess plasticity, the Hebrew letter is extremely soft and flexible."[11] (***fig. 5***) Aronson's remarks are a key to understanding the graphic designs of the Kultur-Lige.

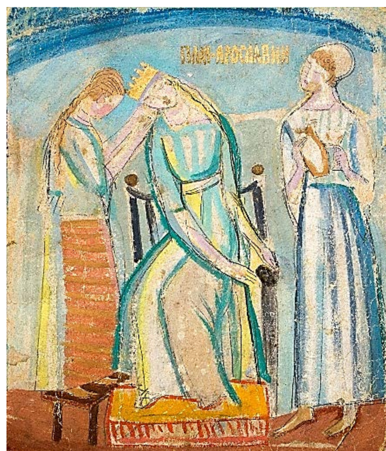


Fig. 4. *M. Boichuk, Yaroslavna (Daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise). Early 1910s. Tempera on cardboard. Lviv Art Gallery, Yaroslava Muzyka Fund.*

Since the Boichukists were also actively producing graphic art and created an entire school that included such artists as Sofiia Nalepinska-Boichuk, Ivan Padalka, and Vasyl Sedliar, one can compare the two approaches as reflected in two book covers: one created by Padalka and T. Boichuk for the book of children's stories *Barvinok* (1919); the other created by El Lissitzky for a book by Mani Leib entitled *Daredevil Boy* (1919). (***fig. 6, 7***) Double dimensions and ornamentality characterize the art of this period and are evident in each of these graphic works. In comparison, however, the Boichukist cover looks more static than the dynamic composition of El Lissitzky—which attests to the peculiarities of Ukrainian and Jewish art styles as described above.

Naturally, the range of artistic experimentation was much broader in both cases. The graphic design of the Kultur-Lige could also be compared to the works of another artist—Hryhorhii Narbut—who was developing a characteristically Ukrainian style, taking his inspiration not from the Byzantine tradition but from the Baroque. It is also worth taking into account the influence of the revolutionary ideologies of the period and the discoveries of the European avant-garde, both of which left a much stronger mark on the Jewish artists and the works of Narbut than on the Boichukists.

The cover of the journal *Zori* (Stars) created by Narbut in 1919 and the cover of the magazine *"Eygns"* (Our Own) by Rybak (1920) demonstrate the importance of folk ornaments as a source of inspiration for both the Ukrainian and Jewish artists. (***fig. 8, 9***) Both cultures made wide use of traditional national forms and

Fig. 5. B. Aronson, Illustration to the poem "The Plucked Flower" by Z. Shneur. 1920

images. Another example is the design of the cover of the catalogue for the "Jewish Exhibition Organized by the Artistic Section of the Kultur-Lige" (Kyiv, 1920), in which Joseph Chaikov composed the image of the *soifer* (scribe) embedded within a Torah shield. (***fig. 10***) Narbut, while working on the cover of a book by B. Narbut entitled *Hallelujah*, chose the silhouette of a Cossack Mamai as a symbol of Ukrainian culture, placing it against the background of multi-storey buildings. (***fig. 11***)

As revolutionary upheavals were unfolding, artists began to depict new heroes. Narbut's composition painted for the cover of *The Sun of Labour magazine* (1919) features the Figure of a worker holding a hammer but styled as a saint, with a slightly tilted "halo" in the form of a star above his head. (***fig. 12***) Nisson Shifrin presents the form of a lumberjack for the cover of the *Molodniak* (Youth) magazine (1923) in a likewise hyperbolized manner, although without the religious associations. (***fig. 13***) These parallels are consistent with the development of both Ukrainian and Jewish art in a common cultural and temporal context.

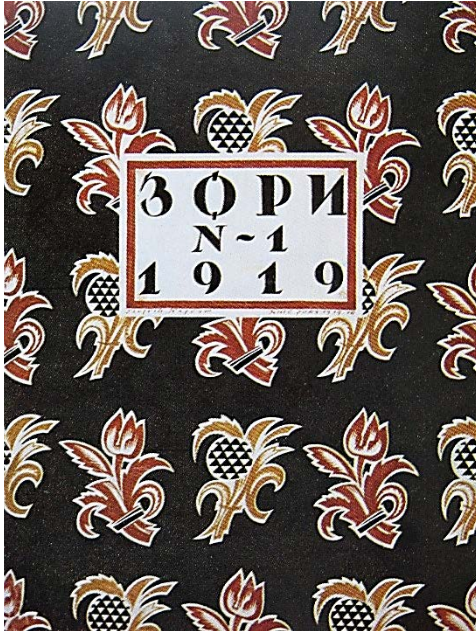
The architects of both "national projects" developed an organizational framework for their activities. In the case of Boichukism, it was the workshop endowed to the artist together with a position as professor at the Kyiv Arts Academy in 1918. While still in Paris, Boichuk dreamed about "gathering talented guys and working together with them, decorating churches and other buildings…about how they will make frescoes and mosaics; carve from wood and stone; make clay pottery and crystal vases; cover things with fine gold, and paint portraits with tempera paint...And girls will make embroidered shirts,

Fig. 6. *T. Boichuk, I. Padalka, cover of the collection of children’s stories Barvinok, 1919.*

Fig. 7. *El Lissitzky, book cover for The Mischievous Boy by M. Leib, 1919.*

towels, gobelins. And with the money thus earned they will keep the school and educate younger generations of artists.”[12] In reality they ended up “decorating” workers’ clubs and rural sanatoria rather than churches. However, the very possibility of implementing these dreams was of significance to Boichuk. His workshop was founded on principles similar to those that inspired the Bezalel School. As stated in B. Schatz’s history of the creation of Bezalel: “I dreamt about a group of inspired artists, far and free from the world of business…We earn our living by the work of our hands, but our creative freedom is not for sale. We live as a family and we share one goal: to show people how beautiful is the world created by God.”[13]

The Kultur-Lige was an independent non-governmental organization whose structure included more than one hundred affiliates in various cities and towns of Ukraine. Its artistic section consisted of people who were already established artists, fulfilling orders commissioned by the Kultur-Lige's other sections. Mark Epstein led its artistic studio (reorganized and renamed in 1924 as the Artistic Industrial school)



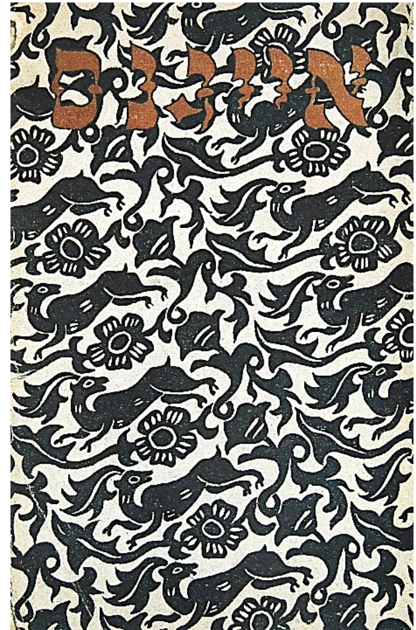


Fig. 8. *H. Narbut, cover of the journal Zori (Stars), 1919.*
Fig. 9. *I. Rybak, cover of the volume Ridne, (Our Own) 1920.*

in which new cadres of artists were trained. The idea of serving the people and popularizing national art was at the heart of the activities of all the affiliates.

The early twentieth century atmosphere of emancipation made possible things that were unthinkable beforehand. In the summer of 1909, the twelve-year old Isakhar Rybak worked in the painters' artel [cooperative association] that painted murals in village churches in the Kherson region. Subcontractors hired him readily because no one could paint ornaments—and even saints with Jesus Christ—from memory as well as he could.[14] Zygmunt Menkes from Galicia also began his artistic career by restoring paintings in both Catholic and Orthodox churches.[15]

Coexistence inspired mutual borrowings. Boichuk's early works demonstrate discernible influences of Jewish culture, which was an integral part of the Galician poly-cultural landscape. For example, in 1913, at the request of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, he created the cover for the Ukrainian edition of Alfonse Daudet's book *Tartarin of Tarascon* (a collection of satirical stories about the African adventures of the hunter Tartarin). Using the woodcut technique, the cover depicts a stylized lion surrounded by floral ornamentation. (***fig. 14, 15***) As

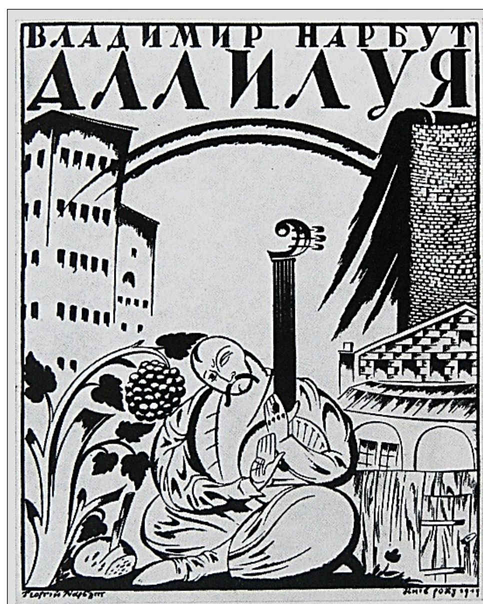


Fig. 10. *J. Chaikov, cover of the catalogue of the Jewish Exhibition in Kyiv, 1920.*
Fig. 11. *H. Narbut, the titular page to the book Hallelujah by V. Narbut, 1919, ink, National Art Museum in Kyiv.*

this depiction echoed the traditional Jewish portrayals of lions, it elicited the following critique in the Kyiv newspaper *Rada* (Council): "The picture nicely captures Tartarin's famous adventures and makes a positive impression, but it is a pity that the artist chose to employ a non-Ukrainian motif."[16] It is clear that in the context of the specificity and ambivalence of the artistic quest in the early twentieth century, even while trying to forge the "national style," real masters also borrowed from the artistic traditions of other peoples.

In the 1920s, several Jewish artists studied under Boichuk at the Kyiv Art Academy and worked in his workshop. Boichuk encouraged them to look at the history and culture of their own people. Manuil Shekhtman (1900–1941), in his diploma work, *Victims of a Pogrom*, translated the silent despair of a Jewish family into the language of monumental art—not by mitigating the emotions but rather converting them into the rhythms of the subjects' silhouettes and gestures. (***fig. 16***) Boichuk's ideas also influenced the works of the Kharkiv graphic artists Ber Blank (1897–1957), Moisei Fradkin (1904–1974), and Mykhailo Shtayerman (1904–1983). They were students of Ivan Padalka and utilized principles of

Fig. 12. *H. Narbut, cover of the journal Solntse truda (The Sun of Labour) 1919, ink, National Art Museum in Kyiv.*

Fig. 13. *N. Shifrin, cover of the journal Molodniak (Youth), 1923, ink, The Russian State Archive of Literature and Arts in Moscow.*

Boichukism in the graphics and illustrations produced for the Jewish classics (including for the works of Mendele Moykher-Sforim, Sholem Aleichem, and David Hofshtein).[17]

Contemporary attitudes toward the architects of “national projects” were ambivalent. The avant-gardists subjected them to harsh criticism. Boichuk’s views, for example, were not shared by Kazimir Malevich. Alexander Archipenko perceived Boichuk's work as no more than a superficial imitation of the Byzantine tradition. Criticizing Boichuk and the “Byzantinists” who exhibited at the Salon des Indépendants in 1910, the sculptor wrote that they "put out their icons in the mistaken belief that it is enough to preserve the aesthetic forms of the works from the preceding epochs, completely ignoring the inner content that made them immortal in the first place.”[18]

Boris Aronson, despite his energetic involvement in the Kultur-Lige's activities, came to the conclusion, while in Berlin, that the contemporary Jewish

Fig. 14. *M. Boichuk, book cover for The Adventures of Tartarin from Tarascon by Alfonse Daudet (Lviv, 1913), Lviv Art Gallery, Yaroslava Muzyka Fund.*
Fig. 15. *Torah-shield, Western Ukraine, second half of the nineteenth century. Lviv Museum of History of Religion.*

artists failed to produce their national style and that "any national style would run counter to the surrounding atmosphere and all the dynamism, mechanics, and disjointedness of our era."[19] Aronson identified three stages which, in his view, characterized Jewish art of the early twentieth century: (1) the "Narodnik" or populist stage of coming close to the people; (2) imitation, stylization, and individualization; and (3) the mind and intuition stage. In Aronson's view, the artistic output of the Kultur-Lige remained at the stage of stylization; only the work of Natan Altman and Marc Chagall reached the third stage

Whether the "national projects" (which eventually were artificially halted or physically destroyed) were a success or a failure remains a subject for further discussion. We can affirm, however, that these phenomena in both Ukrainian and Jewish art of the early twentieth century found their place in history. A

Fig. 16. *M. Shekhtman, Victims of a Pogrom, 1927, National Art Museum in Kyiv.*

comparison of these phenomena shows specific parallels and similarities as well as differences and allows us to acknowledge a certain synchronicity of the processes in Ukrainian and Jewish art in the context of the twentieth century—the century in which both peoples attained statehood.

[1] Girveau, B. "Les sources nationales au service de la modernité architecturale," in *1900. Catalogue* (Paris: Galerie nationale du Grand Palais, 2000), 166.

[2] Buber, M. *Jűdische Kűnstler* (Berlin: Jűdischer Verlag, 1903); A. Kampf, *Jewish Experience in the Art of the Twentieth Century* (Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1984), 15.

[3] Kenig, L. (with comments by G. Kazovsky), "Istoria 'Makhmadim' i la Ruche," *Zerkalo* 11-12 (Tel Aviv, 1999), 160-85.

[4] Susak, V. *Ukrainian Artists in Paris. 1900–1939* (Kyiv: Rodovid, 2010), 35-46.

[5] Sale, M.P. "Entre mythes et histoire: la renouveau de la peinture nationaliste," in *1900. Catalogue* (Paris: Galerie nationale du Grand Palais, 2000), 202-12.

[6] Aronson, B. *Sovremennaia evreiskaia grafika*, (Berlin: Petropolis, 1924), 76.

[7] Holubets, M. "Mystetstvo i krytyka v nas," *Nedilia* 8 (Lviv, 1933), 6-7.

[8] Rybak I. and Aronson, B. "Shliakhy ievreis'kogo zhyvopysu," in *Kul'tur-Liga. Khudozhnii avangard 1910–1920-kh rr.* Katalog vystavky (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2007), 66.

[9] Ibid., 70.

[10] M. Boichuk's letter to Metropolitan Sheptytsky (no date, 1910), publication by L. Voloshyn, *Obrazotvorche mystetstvo* (Kyiv), no. 6 (1990), 22-23.

[11] Aronson, B. Op. cit., 76.

[12] D-sky, Ye. "Vystava 'nezalezhnykh' i ukrainski maliari," [The exposition of the 'Independents' and Ukrainian painters] *Dilo* (Lviv), 13 July 1910.

[13] Schatz, B. *Bezalel: Ego proshloe, nastoyaschee, buduschee* (Odessa: Palestina, 1910), 11.

[14] Latt, L. "Isakhar Ber Rybak," in *Russkoe evreistvo v zarubezh'e*, ed. M. Parkhomovskii, vol. 1(6) (Jerusalem, 1998), 287-307.

[15] Jaworska, W. "Zygmunt Menkes malarz École de Paris," *iuletyn historii sztuki* (Warszawa, 1996), 1-2, 17.

[16] K-s'kyi, N. review of *The Adventures of Tartarin from Tarascon*, by A. Daudet, *Rada* (Kyiv, 22 March 1913), 4.

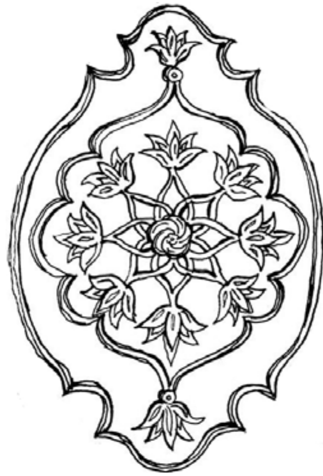
[17] Sokoliuk, L. *Grafika boichukistiv* [Graphic art of the Boichukists] (Kharkiv-New York: Vydavnytstvo M. Kotz, 2002), 77-156.

[18] *Parizhskii vestnik*, no. 24 (1911), cited in V. Marcadé, *Art d'Ukraine* (Lausanne: L'Age d'homme, 1990), 180.

[19] Aronson, B. Op. cit., 102-103, 67, 80.

PART II

SECULAR ART AND CINEMA



Teachers and Pupils: Ukrainian Avant-gardists Exter and Bohomazov and the Kyiv Circle of Jewish Cubo-Futurists, 1918-20

Dmytro Horbachov (Karpenko-Kary National University, Kyiv)

The Pedagogical System

Young Kyiv artists of Jewish background, who were members of the Kultur-Lige,[1] studied Cubo-Futurism and Abstractionism in the now world-renowned Exter-Rabinovich Decorative Art Studio (1918-19). There they were taught by the famous artists and teachers, Alexandra Exter (Oleksandra Ekster) and Oleksandr Bohomazov. The studio included two classes—one for children and one for adults. Instead of academic instruction, the studio members would learn and become knowledgeable about key elements in the art of painting, such as the following:

Rhythm. This is the main active force in art. They were told about the interaction of rising and falling waves, the alternation of weak and strong rhythms, and their energetic twisting patterns. They were taught to change or interrupt rhythm and to combine different rhythms. They were also taught about the notion of interval—a pause, a white sound/space—as one of the integral parts of rhythm. The principles of interval theory were first formulated in Bohomazov's 1914 work *Painting and Elements*.[2]

Non-objective approach. Not many artists in Europe mastered abstract plotless art at that time. However, in Exter's studio this type of art was available even for children—for example, the art of colour paper cutouts and the formation of different rhythmic compositions. Adults were taught composition with wide colour planes in three stages: (a) plane painting—Matisse's work was used as the standard in this regard, but also, as Exter said, they borrowed from the "primitive rhythm of carpet design and painted ceramics"; (b) volumetric painting—as demonstrated in the art of Cézanne, Picasso, and the "dynamic rhythm of Ukrainian Easter eggs"; and (c) deformation—the creation of linear and colour-related harmony and disharmony, and the crossing of compositional axes to create power lines that emit energy and tension. An example of expressive deformation was given by the writer Ilya Ehrenburg. An amateur sculptor, he created a disproportionally large head in his portrayal of a particular man, explaining that he made the head big because this man was very wise.

Bohomazov gave his own example of expressive deformation: “A person was pushing his cart up the street in Kyiv. What I saw when I painted this motif was that the long straight diagonal lines of the cart were so energetic, so powerful, that the buildings had to lean back to keep standing.” In his view, such spontaneity of thinking and unpredictability in the nature of artistic solutions represent the poetry of creativity.

Colour. The sense conveyed was that of “the sound of colour” (an analogy to Rimbaud's perception of “the colour of sound”). A prime example described by Exter was the colourful intensity “that characterizes the art of young Slavonic nations.” Just as perspective was important for Renaissance art, colour was the greatest discovery for the avant-garde. It was a kind of potentiometer or way of measuring tension, the main “content of form,” according to Bohomazov. As expressed by Exter: “As in ancient icons, where the primal colouration reached maximum tension, so does contemporary art show cleanness of colours and their intensity.”[3]

And, finally, **facture,** the manner in which a work of art is made—for example, an artist’s characteristic handling of paint. The theory and practice of paintings “that bulge out, heave and surge, with their surface, rough and uneven,” as described by the Russian Futurist poet and playwright Velimir Khlebnikov, was developed by another Russian Futurist, David Burliuk. Exter taught that facture determines the lightness or heaviness of certain colours, and therefore the weight of plastic forms.

Thanks to Exter and Bohomazov, dozens of Cubo-Futurists and Abstractionists appeared in Kyiv. This was unprecedented for most European cities. Their impact on artists belonging to the Kultur-Lige was remarkable.

Theatre

The art of scenic design that was taught at the Exter studio was probably the world’s first systematic training course in this field, and its Cubo-Futurist and Constructivist approach was highly innovative. The training provided in this short-term course produced a world-class elite group of set designers, including: Vesnin, Rabinovich, Nivinsky, Petrytsky, Chelishchev, Shifrin, Tyshler, Khvostenko-Khvostov, Meller, Andriienko-Nechytailo, and a dozen theatrical designers who acquired a nation-wide reputation in the USSR (Borys Kosarev) and in France (Simon Lissim). Notable features of these innovative approaches to set design include the following:

(a) **Space.** In addition to the theatre stage floor, the stage cube became the performance space as well. The floor and upper elements of the stage cube were connected through architectural three-dimensional scenery or framework structures.

(b) **Colour.** The spectacular effect of the performances was achieved through the movement of colourful decorations and the coordinated gestures of the actors, who also represented colourfully painted spots. The stage was turned into a carnival of colourful elements, resembling Ukrainian wedding customs.

(c) **Light.** Exter and her people turned streams of light into components of the rhythmical structure of performance. Today, this approach to lighting is a basic element in the world of set design.

Kyiv's Kultur-Lige and Issues of Abstraction

Exter and Bohomazov had considerable influence on Kyiv`s Jewish artistic youth, who banded together in the Kultur-Lige's art section. The group included Mark Epshtein, El Lissitzky, Solomon Nikritin, Isaak Rabinovich, Sarah Shor, Aleksandr Tyshler, Isakhar Ber Rybak, Nisson Shifrin, Isaak Pailes, and others. All of them later became acclaimed masters, including in other countries. They all considered abstract plastic conception to be the main indicator of art and proclaimed a decisive "no" to "literalness" and narrative if not first filtered through the contemporary art process.

In light of the religious ban against painting concrete images of human figures on synagogue walls, these artists considered their abstraction to be the manifestation of Jewishness in art. In 1919, the Kyiv Yiddish journal *Oyfgang* (Dawn) published an article by Boris Aronson and Isakhar Ber Rybak entitled "The Directions of Jewish Art," which stated the following:

> Pure abstract form is precisely what embodies the national element…. It is only through the principle of abstract art that one can achieve the expression of one`s national self-identity. The form is an essential element, while the content is a bad distraction. The picture's composition is more important than its message, and the variety of colours is more valuable than realistic representation of objects.[4]

For El Lissitzky, the most prominent artist of the Kultur-Lige, Kyiv was his school of abstract art, as expressed in Exter's Cubo-Futurism during 1918-19. Later, in Vitebsk, Moscow, and Germany, he would create masterpieces of Suprematism (the minimalist, draftsman`s version of non-objective art focused on basic geometric forms), but Kyiv was the starting point of his artistic evolution. Lissitzky's artwork was multicultural: French (Picasso`s influence), Ukrainian (Exter's influence), and Jewish (expressed in the art he produced for Yiddish publications). His

Kyiv illustrations of Ukrainian, Jewish, and Belarusian fairy tales also indicate the multifaceted nature of Lissitzky's cultural background. As was the case for a number of other artists of the period, his national self-identity manifested itself in a rather spontaneous, intuitive, and subconscious manner.

It is significant that the catalogues of the Kultur-Lige were printed simultaneously in Ukraine's three official languages of Ukrainian, Russian, and Yiddish. A number of the Kultur-Lige artists became stage designers. Aronson became world famous as a stage designer in New York on Broadway and at the Metropolitan Opera. Others, such as Nisson Shifrin, worked at the Berezil theatre headed by Les Kurbas, which was to find itself at the epicentre of new art in Kyiv.

In Search of Epshtein

In the 1960s, as the Head Custodian of the Ukrainian Arts Museum, I would go to Moscow and visit members of the Ukrainian Diaspora on a regular basis and return with pieces of art to Kyiv. I was told that my visits stirred the Ukrainian and Jewish-Ukrainian community in Moscow. For the first time, I heard Mark Epshtein's name from the artist Irina Zhdanko, the wife of Lev Kramarenko, and a friend of Malevich. Zhdanko mentioned the names of members of OSMU (Organization of Contemporary Artists of Ukraine), and Epshtein was one of them. Zhdanko told me that Epshtein's sister lived close-by, in Sokolniki. Her name was Gousta. So I went there. She lived in a shabby single-room apartment. In the narrow hall, there was a folder left on the floor. It was probably left there a few decades ago. The folder contained about a thousand of Epstein's drawings! Over a hundred of them were Expressionist and Cubist paintings of extremely high quality. There were also about two dozen *études* from a later date, without avant-garde features, because avant-garde was prohibited in the 1930s and 1940s.

My first impression was that the drawings belonged to the strong hand of a sculptor. Their plastics were heavy, massive, and Hercules-like. They were also grotesque and hyperbolic. Cubistic "hinge-joint characters" of the early 1920s not only resembled Picasso's paintings but also looked like any tailor's mannequin in the shops of Kyiv's Podil district. A series of drawings from the late 1920s, titled *Jews on Earth*, were impressive. There were labourers, laundrywomen, fishermen and fisherwomen with big feet, baroque-style curved bodies like tree trunks, with wide faces, as plain as the countryside. In balancing plastic volumes, Epshtein recalled the Cubistic past and moved towards Post-Cubistic Expressionism. Gousta was happy to give me these paintings and I brought them to Kyiv. I didn't want to boast about the discoveries and inform my supervisors about them, as I already had the reputation of being a "politically unreliable" person. I had once overheard a conversation between my director and

his deputy, who was sarcastic about Formalism: "We shouldn't pay for Horbachov's trips to Moscow. He brings back Formalist paintings. We should send another guy instead, he brings back Realists." Therefore I decided to register Epshtein's paintings with the so-called auxiliary archive, which was secondary as compared to the primary collection and therefore overlooked by the censors' eyes. In 1967, I suggested to Pavlo Zahrebelny to mount an exhibition in the Writers' House and said it would be just as sensational as the previous Bohomazov exhibition. Zahrebelny, a patron of Ukrainian culture, agreed and the House Director announced the exhibition's opening date. On the day before the opening I came to tell him that I would be bringing in the paintings from the museum. However, the director informed me, with some distress: "Israel attacked the Arabs yesterday. We have to cancel the exhibition." But Epshtein died in 1949! Nobody cared—it was a case of attributing collective guilt.

Nisson Shifrin's Review of Two Exhibitions in Kyiv in 1920

Nisson Shifrin (1892–1961), a member of Kultur-Lige, was an illustrator, graphic artist, and avant-garde painter who studied in Kyiv at the Exter studio (1918–19) and at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts (1920–21) where he was a student of Professor Mykhailo Boichuk. He later taught in several schools in Moscow and gained fame as a Soviet stage designer. The following is a draft review by Shifrin of two exhibitions held in Kyiv in 1920—an Exhibition of the Art Section of the Kultur-Lige, and an Exhibition of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts—in which he expresses a conceptual stance that reflects that of his teachers Exter and Bohomazov regarding the advantages of abstract art and the rhythmic organization of works of art:

> The Kultur-Lige exhibition, though making an impression of good taste, lacks a program. It is not a show of a group, even though all the preconditions are there to make the presenting artists a solid group. It is like they forgot to agree on what they would show and in what way. As a result, some of the artists show a retrospective series of works (Pailes, Chaikov), while others only showcase their present works (Aronson). They nonetheless have something in common. It is clear that they all strive for an abstract understanding of the world, even while allowing for national specifics to add to this purpose.
>
> Nationality is realized thematically in most of the exhibited paintings and not everyone is free from such a "plot-based" approach in their works. Creating paintings on a national subject or theme does not automatically mean creating national art. Nationality could surface in a variety of ways, even when the theme is not national. A Russian church in one of the drawings is depicted in a way that

clearly shows the style of a Jew. Lissitzky is probably the most fully developed artist among the presenters. His effective approach in producing book illustrations and his understanding of the printed page and its graphic content demonstrates the author's plastic thinking and strong construction of graphic planes based on rhythm rather than national motifs.

Chaikov has the most graphic works at the exhibition. He is clearly progressive, breaking free of the external, plot-based approach and "dry bone" detail, and comes closer to the rhythmic composition of plastic masses. Two other painters, Aronson and Shifrin, accomplish their composition tasks and build their works concisely. Other artists' works demonstrate an organised approach. They find the source of their inspiration either in Russia and the West or in the ornamentation of the East. Their approach is serious, based on studies of artistic achievements, which makes up for the fact that they are not mature works but in the process of formation. The departure from a plot-based approach is the key to success. We can find proof of this with Chaikov, whose works are well represented at the exhibition. His early works, based on a literal approach, were dry and weak in shape and lines. However, the works show visible progress and the graphic aspects were resonant in his later drawings, which were built on the equilibrium of white and black.

Aronson and Shifrin are the least obsessed with plot domination. They operate solely with the painting data and strive to enhance the internal constructive composition, as opposed to Rabichev, who darkens his mostly simple but adequate drawings by introducing contrived aspects. In addition to all of the above, it is worth noting the works of Tyshler, who is still very "raw" and subject to many influences and airs. Just as with Rabichev, in Tyshler's case we can talk about a gap between his heart and his head. He overdoes the textures of most of his drawings to the point that very little is left from the overall structure, while in watercolours he leaves raw, unprocessed colours (instead of tones), thus spoiling his otherwise interesting compositions.

There are many sculptures at the exhibition, they are massive and they dominate the small graphic works. The works of Pailes and Chaikov are adequately represented. Pailes generally understands the goals of sculpture in his later works, though, overall, the forms are "blown-up" unreasonably, as if they were made of rubber. If you "poke them with your finger" (as Cézanne said wittily), nothing is going to pour out of the holes. Chaikov is very graphic in his sculptures. However, his *Head of a Jew* is a big step forward towards real sculpture, justifying all his previous mistakes. We should also note the very well sculpted *Portrait of the Artist Khazina* by Epshtein.

Boichuk's group of artists was the most pleasant phenomenon presented at the exhibition of the Ukrainian Arts Academy. This is a school, a really good school! It demonstrates both the correct approach to painting and an excellent knowledge of composition. Professor Boichuk renews all the painting traditions that were lost back in seventeenth century and, by connecting contemporary artists with the old masters, he teaches his students the most important thing: the mentality of painting. Many of these works may be modest, but the true art of painting, sanctified by the old traditions, grows and ripens in them. This art school presents some timid, amateurish works, but none of them are random. Even the works of the weakest students are organic and logical. This is the basis of art and this is what the students owe to their teacher Boichuk.

A report describing the endless hardships of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts was presented at the exhibition. And if the Academy was able to carry the flame and keep such a gem as Professor Boichuk's School, despite all the difficulties, then its existence is justified.

Narbut's students "sont plus Narbut que lui-même" [are more "Narbut" than Narbut himself—Trans.]. They will function beautifully, but they will not shine "plastically." This is their teacher's shortcoming. Narbut is exclusive in his technique, but he is totally "describable" because he thinks in plots instead of images (shape, colour, etc.). This is why his works, which are beautifully shaped externally, are still composed in a literal rather than plastic manner. To our mind, this does not lead to great composition.

It is not proper to talk about Burachek's school, primarily because there is no such school of painting. There are only several isolated students, who perhaps are not suited to the easel at all. One has to kick this "symbolic-aesthetic vulgarity" out of the presumptuous epigones of Chiurlionis and Bogaevsky before allowing them to take a brush in their hands.[5]

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[1] The *Kultur-Lige* (Culture League), founded in Kyiv in 1917, promoted the development of contemporary secular Yiddish culture in a number of spheres, including education, literature, theatre, art, and music. The Kultur-Ligue is best known for its independent publishing house which put out a journal and books in Yiddish, and especially for its art school and exhibitions. In an effort to create new Jewish art, members of the Kultur-Lige synthesized images of traditional art with Ukrainian avant-garde ideas.

[2] Bohomazov, O. *Zhyvopys ta elementy* [Painting and Elements] (Kyiv: Zadumlyvy Straus, 1996), 1.

[3] Exter, A. "Vystavka dekorativnykh risunkov E.Pribylskoi i Ganny Sobachko", *Teatral'naia zhizn'* (Kiev, 1910).

[4] Paradoksy evreiskogo iskusstva. Manifest Borisa Aronsona i Isakhara Bera Rybaka, "Puti evreiskoi zhivopisi" (translation from Yiddish). *Zerkalo* (Tel Aviv, 1995), 124:15

[5] Source: Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), Moscow, Fonds 24 22 (Shifrin Collection), List 1, File 160. pp. 37-38.

Samples of Paintings and Set Design by Alexandra Exter, Oleksandr Bohomazov and their Followers. 1920s.

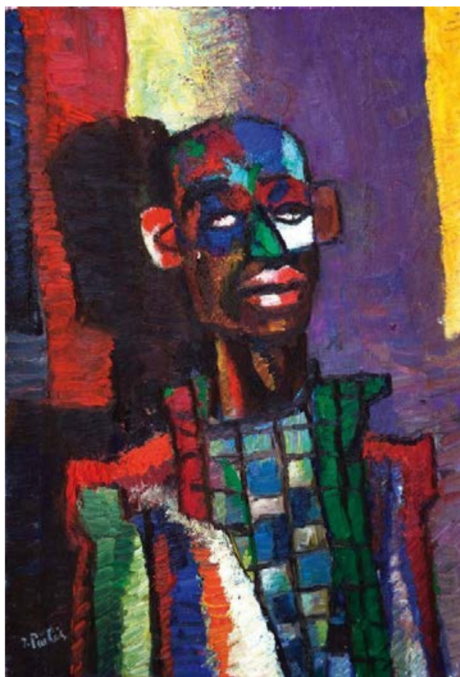
Alexandra Exter

Vadym Meller

Isaak Rabinovich

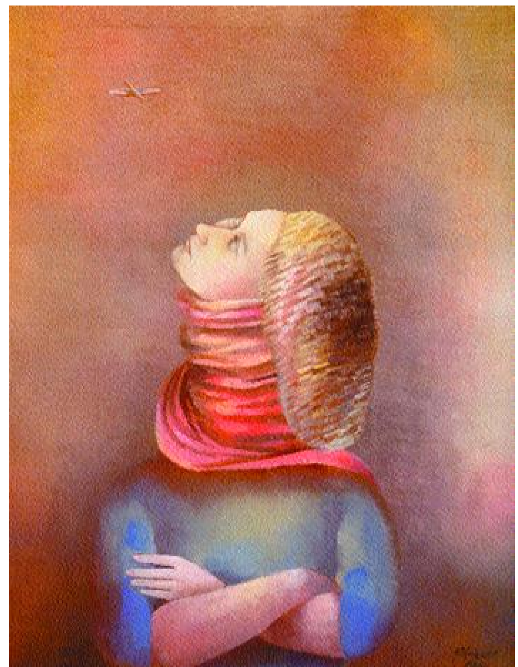
Mark Epshtein

Oleksandr Bohomazov



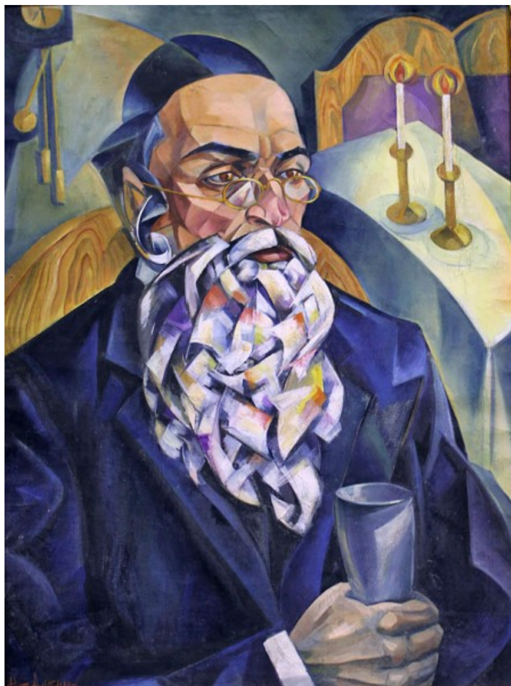
Isaak Pailes

Oleksandr Khvostenko-Khvostov



Aleksandr Tyshler

Aleksandr Tyshler



Natan Altman

Sarah Shor

Oleksandr Dovzhenko and Jewish Mythology

Serhii Trymbach (President, Filmmakers' Union of Ukraine, Kyiv)

In the films and texts of Oleksandr (Alexander) Dovzhenko one can find numerous fragments that relate to Jewish mythology. In this regard, he continued a particular trend in Ukrainian tradition—that of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, and many other authors. According to some memoir writers, Dovzhenko was also planning to make a film on a specifically Jewish theme.

Dovzhenko's interest in Jewish themes is manifest first of all in the clear allusions made to ancient Jewish history as presented within the mythology of the Jewish religious tradition. The myth, in this context, is seen as a means of comprehending the beginning, the sources of ethnic history. A striking example among Ukrainian authors is the association of the non-state status of Ukrainians and their submission to the Russian Empire with the story of the Jewish exodus from Egypt as described in the Second Book of Moses. These Ukrainian authors perceived Moses as an ideal guide to freedom and a role model to be followed. Another myth—the giving of the land by Jehovah to the Jewish people—also resonated with how Ukrainians viewed their own history. As the mythology of the Land is of great significance for Ukrainians, it is no wonder that the most celebrated film made in Ukraine—Dovzhenko's *Zemlia* (Earth)—was based on this theme. The land is granted by God and at the same time occupied by foreigners (according to Taras Shevchenko, by the Russians, Germans, or Jews). We live "not in our own land" and need to fight to reclaim it. Also regarded as relevant, though less popular, was the idea of Ukrainians being a people chosen by God. Themes relating to the Temple in Jerusalem, however, are to be found in many Ukrainian texts, including those by Dovzhenko.

In general, one must remember that in his early works Dovzhenko belonged to the artistic avant-garde, which had its own peculiar relations with mythology, including from the Jewish tradition. As the Ukrainian master worked in the context of the contemporary ideological and political life of Europe, it is no wonder that his works bear similarities with the cultural phenomena of other countries with respect to the use of ancient Jewish themes. Moreover, Dovzhenko

personally had a good grasp of biblical stories and ideas, and often used them in communicating with other people even in his private life. For example, he would draw from eschatological mythologies, as seen in the following instance. After the Second World War was over, Dovzhenko had, for various reasons, a sense of impending death—his own and that of the entire nation, even of civilization as a whole. In his diary, he mentions a conversation he had back in 1930 with the then people's commissar for education Mykola Skrypnyk:

> While looking into my eyes with his heavy man-hating eyes, he said: ‘As far as your working plans are concerned, I will tell you right from the Holy Scripture: Lord, I have tasted a little bit of honey and here, I’m dying.’ Why am I remembering these words today? I have no idea. I spent the whole day thinking of the nuclear bomb. It seemed to me today that our whole world will die and with it all of the evil.[1]

There are many similar examples in Dovzhenko’s texts. The speed and the burning pressure for radical changes in the social order, which he perceived as changes in the very foundations of civilisation, caused great personal anxiety for the author, despite the ideological support that came from the sense of solidarity in difficult times and that everybody was striving forward together. The angst was especially strong during the war and found expression in many diary entries and in the 1943 documentary war film *Ukraina v ohni* (Ukraine in Flames), which contained numerous eschatological ideas and allusions. A foremost theme was the tragedy of the Ukrainian people just before the war in the Great Famine, and then during the war, as they found themselves “between the rock and the hard place” of two totalitarian systems prepared to ruin them both physically and spiritually.

One should also take into consideration the role and use of the mythologies of messianism in the aspirations of the avant-garde.[2] Dovzhenko frequently considered himself a national messiah, a national prophet (even asking that he be buried as a prophet—in Kyiv, by the high bank of Ukraine’s main river). A number of his central characters are also messiahs. This cultural-ideological code was inherited by the avant-garde cinema of a later period as well. For example, the 1970 film *Komisary* (Commissars), directed by Mykola Mashchenko, was based on references to the world of the early Christians whose faith was mightily tested. Their tests are so catastrophic that they can be saved only by a fanatical and deadly faith, as paradoxical as this may sound. Another example is recapturing the "historical zero"—the mythological moment that sparked the beginning of the revolutionary

events—in Mashchenko's film. This relates to one of the first incidents of the 1905 October Revolution, which took place on the cruiser *Aurora*.

The idea of going back to one's sources, to the beginning of time, to purifying the foundations of civilisation, is in line with a pattern followed by many avant-garde artists. A resource commonly used in such purification was Christian-Jewish mythology, supplemented by more recent mythologies. An example is Dovzhenko's film *Zvenyhora* (1928), which was based on polemics about the idea that Ukraine would be reborn only when the treasured primordial code of Ukrainianness is unearthed. As reflected in Dovzhenko's film *Arsenal* (1929), this idea invites opposition from the new Bolshevik messiah, who pursues the idea of a dynamic country of tomorrow.

In the film *Earth* (1930), propaganda about the advantages of the collective economy turns into a screen myth of fighting for the land, allegedly granted by the Bolshevik "god" to the poor. A saving sacrificial gesture is needed to win in this fight. The main character Vasyl goes to the city and returns on a tractor. The entire village comes out to greet him. One can see a certain parallel with the entry of Jesus Christ into Jerusalem on a donkey. Jesus found a donkey, sat on it, and made a festive entry into the city. Delighted people went out to meet him with palm branches and leaves, put their clothes on the road before him, and shouted with joy, glorifying him, and crying for salvation.

While it is unlikely that there is any conscious thought in such parallelism, it is noteworthy that this Gospel story continues an ancient cultural tradition described by a number of researchers.[3] Christ's entry into a city recreates an element of the ancient Jewish festival of Tabernacles—the festival of fertility and harvest, involving an ancient female god or mother-earth: "First, this god of the land was seen as a god of a locality since the land where the farming community resided was also considered to be god."[4] The image of the land or the earth corresponds to a woman giving birth. This goddess of fertility, mother-earth, has a husband, god of heaven, who impregnates her with light and moisture.

Concerning the festive entry per se, one should remember that both the city and the land were generally perceived as feminine. The entry of the god to the city or village, in this particular way of thinking, therefore may be identified with a sexual act. By entering a city the god was conquering it, impregnating it/her. Thus, the gates must have been considered akin to a woman's fertility organ.

The images of a charming village landscape are thus violated by the severe historical reality in the form of a tractor and its driver, Vasyl Trubenko (Semen

Svashenko). Vasyl belongs to a respected farming dynasty, used to living in harmony with nature and its laws. The farming, earth myth is dominant here. Everything is subject to the movement of the sun and the changes of the seasons: sowing of seeds, growing of seeds, harvesting when the seeds bring forth fruit, processing the produce so that there are provisions for the winter, and the beginning of a new work cycle with the spring sun. The charmed cycle is continually repeated and nobody seems to be able to break free from it. However, the new man, Vasyl, and his allies in the community "cell" are presented as heroes as they dare to break free from that cycle—to free themselves from slavery to nature and thus bring paradise to earth. It would be paradise because men would be empowered to establish their own laws of being in it. And rivers of milk would flow, and the deepest dreams of humankind would come true.

In many respects, the Slavic pagan cosmogony is not only replenished but also contradicted by elements of the Christian-Jewish mythology and new features coming from the Bolshevik ideology. Despite the dissonance created by bringing them together, they paint a grand mythological picture of a national revival.

Let us remind ourselves once more that in the 1920s the idea of a renaissance looked very real, so much so that it was fixed in a very specific imaginary construct. One of the most read books of that decade—*The Decline of the West* by the German author Oswald Spengler (published in Moscow in 1922)—spoke about the "decline" to be followed by the "sunrise." It spoke of natural cycles: the sun rises and sets, and in the morning it rises again. It goes down in the west, it comes up in the east—that is how it should be. Therefore, it is from the East that one should expect renewal. Spengler expected the renewal of culture from the East as well. According to him, western European culture had declined and lost its energy. In the East however, especially in the territory of the former Russian Empire, the energy was still strong. The writer Mykola Khvylovy, a leader of the Ukrainian intellectuals of the 1920s and early 1930s, considered this thesis to be the final truth and presented it as a historic mission for Ukraine. Khvylovy proclaimed in a number of his manifestos that the "Asian Renaissance" meant that Ukrainians must begin to recognize that they are creating not just their personal future but also the future of the entire continent.

Zvenyhora, *Arsenal,* and *Earth* include an episode on the entry of a saviour who was called upon to bring happiness to that particular land. In the language of a farming myth (which is frequently used by Dovzhenko), the saviour refers to the giver of life, of new births. The hero's entry in *Earth* symbolizes the wedding

with the virgin land, which requires a saving copulation. As expressed in the imagery of a plough cutting into the land, the mission is accomplished! And then the entire farming cycle is portrayed, up to the harvest and bread baking. Lovers' games also come into play: for example, in the famous episode when the loving couples stand still in the moonlight, and the men's hands get lost in the girls' bosoms—a secretive gesture that brings closer the solemn moment when the still virgin gates will open up.

Another indicative scene is Vasyl's dance, full of the anticipation of happiness, in the dawn. The sun would rise soon. The episode breathes the metaphorical themes of birth and renewal. For a scene of such significance to take place (again, in terms of the farming myth), a redeeming sacrifice of the saviour is required before the rebirth. This is played out in the evil act of the shooting by the kulak Khoma from behind the wall, and the synchronization of the death and the funeral with the delivery of new life, as Vasyl's mother gives birth to another son—referring clearly to the hero's resurrection. The mother's womb opens and he goes through the heavenly gates into eternity, into the new circle of life. At the end, Vasyl's bride recognizes his immortal essence in the smile of another young man. Heaven and earth rejoice in the wedding, and the mother's womb embraces the life-giving moisture that washes the beautiful fruit of universal love. And the sun, which for the first time appears in the film, is reflected in every drop of rain, shining with the suggestions of heavenly joys of a life given. The land is saved, humankind is revived—and there is no end to this eternal magic.

Dovzhenko was a true avant-garde artist. He believed that actual historical time belonged to the "zero point" from which new time/space comes, giving birth to new social relations and a new man who will not bear the birthmarks of previous civilisations. Meanwhile, his cultural and ideological surroundings pushed his creative intuition towards an apocalyptic worldview. This came about as a result of the experience of the nation to which he belonged and the fact that the mythological tools he used were mostly Christian-Jewish in origin. The events of the 1930s, then the war, the creation of nuclear arms, and his personal tragedy (when he was prevented from participating in the civil and political life of the country after working on the film *Ukraine in Flames*), all contributed to the mythological elements that shaped the worldview of this outstanding personality.

A later example of Dovzhenko's preoccupation with mythological themes may be seen in his drafts for the script for *Zahybel bohiv* (The Death of Gods). The first draft was written in 1947, the last one on 1 October 1954, after the death of Stalin. Unfortunately, these remained just sketches. A few decades later, the young director Andrii Donchyk would film these sketches, enabling viewers to see Dovzhenko's heroes on the screen. The storyline consists of an icon painter (Yaroslav Havryliuk) who comes to the village to paint the church. In painting the saints, he uses as models the figures of ordinary peasants. The village chief (Hennadii Harbuk) regards this as blasphemy. Dovzhenko put all his contempt for bureaucrats into this character, who is presented as controlling and extremely deficient in human qualities—"most thorough and careful, nothing could stop him, and unable to survive a day without being in control."

An interesting episode in these sketches illustrates Dovzhenko's outlook and approach regarding the impact that mythologies can have. The men whose portraits were painted on the church walls refused to pray to one another's images. This led the church hierarch to order that all the saints be painted over: "and when all the saints became strangers, looking like nobody else, everything calmed down." One old man, however, who was painted as the God of Sabaoth, disagreed with this order because he recognized himself in God's likeness. In a related section, the script reads: "They were not believers. But what they created made them kneel and for the first time in their lives they thought deeply because they saw the human and the national in such unity with the Gospel landscape, the sun, gold, and the blue sky….'No, I'm not God', one of them says, 'I'm only God's nature'. The impact of the experience, according to the script, is that people who saw themselves on the church walls began to change their inner and outer appearances. This is the ideal of an artist's work—that the art produced has the power of religious influence, that it can replace religion, raising humankind to the peaks of the spirit and holiness.[5] But in life it is seldom possible to have such an impact and attain such results. And then the very life of the artist seems destroyed, as evil prevails.

[1] Dovzhenko, Oleksandr. Diary, 16 October 1945, cited in the journal *Iskusstvo kino,* no. 9 (1989): 53. Oleksandr Dovzhenko, Diary, 16 October 1945, cited in the journal *Iskusstvo kino,* no. 9 (1989): 53.

[2] See for example Anna Bila's discussion in *The Ukrainian Literary Avant-garde: Search and Styles* (in Ukrainian) (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2006).

[3] See: Freidenberg, O. “Entry into Jerusalem on a Donkey,” in *Evangelical Mythology*, and O. Freidenberg's book *Myth and Literature of Ancient Times* (in Russian) (Moscow: Nauka, 1978).

[4] Ibid., 494-95.

[5] Dovzhenko, Oleksandr. *Works*, 5 vols. (in Ukrainian) (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1967), 5: 498.

PART 3

CROSS-CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN LANGUAGE AND MUSIC

Aspects of Ukrainian-Yiddish Language Contact

Wolf Moskovich (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century Ukraine had the highest concentration of Jews in the world with some thirty percent of world Jewry residing in ethnographic Ukrainian territories. They made up ten to fifteen percent of the population in Western and Right Bank Ukraine and were in relative majority in a number of towns in these areas. The presence among Ukrainians of such a numerous ethnic minority with which they were in permanent communication resulted in reciprocal interaction of the Ukrainian and Yiddish languages.

The contact between Ukrainian and Yiddish, which continued through the last five centuries, left an indelible imprint on all levels of the Yiddish language (including its phonotactics, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and phraseology) and contributed many Yiddish loanwords and loan translations to the Ukrainian language, in particular to Ukrainian regional dialects and urban sociolects.

The number of bilinguals among Jews who spoke both Yiddish and Ukrainian was considerable before 1939. We also know of many Ukrainians who had a passive or active knowledge of the Yiddish language of their Jewish neighbours.

The first Yiddish dictionary on the territory of the Russian Empire by Shiye-Mordkhe Lifshits, which was published in Zhytomyr in 1876, contains 280 Ukrainian loanwords. A list compiled by K.F. Liubarsky in Odessa in 1927 comprises 500 such loanwords in Yiddish, but their real number is much higher.

Yiddishisms in the Ukrainian language were not studied systematically though they are well represented in comprehensive Ukrainian dictionaries. As the research material is vast, this presentation will concentrate only on some aspects of the fascinating subject of Yiddish–Ukrainian language interaction.

The Language of Odessa

Prior to 1917 Odessa was the largest city in Ukraine and the fourth largest city in the Russian Empire after St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Warsaw. Its multiethnic

population comprised in 1897 around 51 percent Russians, 33 percent Jews, and 6 percent Ukrainians. Many more Ukrainians lived in the suburbs and villages around Odessa. The Russian colloquial language of Odessa, often called the Odessan jargon, is famous throughout the Russian-speaking world for its unique mixture of words and expressions that stem from both Yiddish and Ukrainian. Noteworthy in this regard is that the majority of Yiddishisms in Odessan jargon have their roots in Ukrainian. In many cases, when it seems that a word or expression was copied in Odessan Russian speech directly from Ukrainian, its immediate source may be the Yiddish language, which served as a kind of filter between Ukrainian and Russian. The presence of certain common lexical elements and syntactic features in both Ukrainian and Yiddish, which were acquired by Yiddish as a result of centuries-long language contact with Ukrainian, contributed to the ease of their penetration and acceptance in Odessan Russian. Examples include the following:

> In Odessa they call a gate /fortka/ (Yid. /firtke/, /fortke/, Ukr. /firtka/) whereas the standard Russian /fortochka/ denotes something different—a ventilator window.
>
> If you are offered tea with lemon or cream in Odessa, you may answer without hesitation: /Bez nichego!/ ”Just tea!”, literally “Without anything!” The normative Russian expression is /Bez vsego!/, literally ”Without everything!” while the Odessan expression is taken from Yid. /Un gurnisht!/ as it came from Ukr. /Bez nichoho!/.
>
> Tea without sugar is called in Odessa /golyi chai/, literally “naked tea” (cf. Yid. /gole tey/, Ukr. /holyi chai/).
>
> Some syntactic patterns come to Odessan Russian from Yiddish, but they originate from Ukrainian:
>
> /skuchat' za nim/ “to long for him” (cf. Yid. /benkn nokh im/, Ukr. /skuchaty za nym/), while in standard Russian the usual form is /skuchat' po nemu/.
>
> In Odessa they say /smeiat'sia s nego/ “to make fun of him” (Yid. /(op)lakhn fun im /, Ukr. /smiiatysia z nioho/. The Russian norm is different: /smeiat'sia nad nim/.

The assumption that many similar features entered the Odessan Russian speech not directly from Ukrainian but via Yiddish is based on the fact that there was a massive presence in the city of tens of thousands of multilingual Jews whose dominant language was Yiddish and whose uneducated Russian speech, which abounded in loan translations from Yiddish, had an appreciable influence on the

character of local colloquial Russian. At the same time there were relatively few ethnic Ukrainians residing in Odessa. On the other hand the similarity of Russian and Ukrainian as two closely related East Slavic languages had an important role in the ease of adoption of such elements in Odessan Russian. In this way the two languages—Ukrainian and Yiddish—produced a combined imprint on colloquial Russian in Odessa.

The Language of Czernowitz

Another case of synergetic effect of Ukrainian and Yiddish on a third language is the urban German speech of Czernowitz (today Chernivtsi), the main city of Bukovina, when it was under Austrian rule before 1918. Bukovina was one of those regions of Ukraine where the proportion of Jews was among the largest. In 1900 they constituted 15.6 percent of the population of Bukovina and 37.9 percent of the population of Czernowitz. According to the Austrian census of 1910, which did not consider Yiddish to be a separate language and listed the Jews as speakers of German, 48.4 percent of Czernowitz residents were German speakers (most of them Jews). The same census showed 17.9 percent of Czernowitz residents as ethnic Ukrainians, 17.4 percent ethnic Poles, and 15.7 percent ethnic Romanians. The city's Jewish residents played a major role in strengthening the position of German, the official language of administration and business in Czernowitz. However, the reality of multilingual life demanded at the same time of all the ethnic groups of Bukovina the knowledge of one another's languages. There were many Ukrainians who understood and spoke Yiddish and German, and many Jews who knew Ukrainian and German.

The Bukovinian Ukrainian speech (both urban and rural) absorbed dozens of words and expressions borrowed or calqued from Yiddish. Examples include:

> /moiry maty/ “to be afraid” (Yid. /hobn moyre/—idem) /tsuris/ ”rage, fury” (Yid. /tsures/ “trouble, plight, aggravation, misery”) /tsuris maty na kohos'/ ”to be angry at somebody” /buty broigis z kym/ 'to be angry at somebody” (Yid. /zayn broyges oyf emetsn/—idem) /hokh mit pientes/ "conceited, presumptious, arrogant person” (Yid. /hoykh mit pyentes/—

idem) /tsimmes/ “something very good (Yid. /tsimmes/

1. “vegetable/fruit stew” **2.** ”something very good”, used in similes, e.g. /A moyd vi a tsimmes/ "a girl in the full bloom of youth”) /metsiia/ “something very good” (Yid. /metsie/“bargain”) /robyty Moishi kimyran/ “to steal” (Yid. /Mayshe kim arayn/ “Moyshe, come in”)

Though Czernowitz was called “klein Wien” (Little Vienna), the local German was somewhat different from Viennese German, being under the influence of Yiddish, Ukrainian, and Polish. Many of its lexical borrowings could come from either Yiddish or Ukrainian, where their prototypes exist. Both languages acting in tandem produced the following lexical elements in Bukovinian German:

/laydak/ “a lightminded person” (Yid. /laydak/ and Ukr. /laidak/ “scoundrel”) /smarkach/ ”snotty-nosed brat” (Yid. and Ukr. /smarkach/—idem) /he! heyda!/ ”forward!” (Yid. /he! heyda!/, Ukr. /he! heida!/—idem)

/abi/ “as long as, only” (Yid. /abi/, Ukr. /aby/—idem) /holodnik/ "ruffian” (Yid. /holodnik/, Ukr. /holodnyk/—idem) /burlak/ “bachelor” (said disparagingly) (Yid. and Ukr. /burlak/—idem) /taki/ “indeed, really” (defiant affirmative answer) (Yid. /taki/, Ukr. /taky/—idem)

A specific Bukovinian Ukrainian curse is /Ahi na tebe!/. The exclamation /Ahi!/ “Fie! Dickens!” is used as a sign of irritation or astonishment. The curse entered Bukovinian Yiddish in the forms /Ahi na tebe!/, /Ahi tsu dayn kop! /Ahi na tvoiu holovu!/ “Go to the Devil!”. /Ahi/ is also used a noun meaning “hangman" in both Bukovinian Ukrainian and Yiddish. Apparently its source in Ukrainian is the Turkish word /agi/ “poison” which entered into the Ukrainian of Bukovina in the late Middle Ages during the Ottoman rule.

In Bukovinian German the curses /Ahi!/, /Ahi auf dayn Kopf!/ are also used. They were adopted probably via the Bukovinian Yiddish-German bilingual milieu. The language proximity of Yiddish and German facilitated the adoption of Yiddish elements in German.

We see in the case of the interaction among Ukrainian, Yiddish, and German in Bukovina the role of Yiddish as a mediating conduit in the penetration of Ukrainian language material into a third language.

Surnames of Ukrainian Jews and Ukrainians

The process of the introduction of family names in all areas of Ukraine was complete by the middle of the nineteenth century. The choice of surnames for Jews in Galicia and Bukovina was in the hands of Austrian officials who based them mainly either on the Yiddish or the German languages. In the regions under Russian rule, responsibility was assumed by Kahal officials, who assigned surnames based on Yiddish, German, Ukrainian, and Russian. As a considerable number of these surnames were based on Ukrainian, there are many identical surnames among Ukrainians and Jews—for example, Gonta, Gaidamak, Chervonny, Shmandura, Tantsiura, Zabara, Zhvavy, etc.

Many other Jewish surnames have diverse specific origins but are formed according to Ukrainian onomastic patterns. Among these are family names such as Bormashenko (“son of Reb Moses Samuel”, formed from the Hebrew acronym "Barmash"), Evalenko (“son of Ioel”), Liberchuk ("son of Liber”), and Shaiuk (“son of Shaia”).

Around seventy percent of surnames of Ukrainian Jews are toponymic. There is hardly any name of a town or village in Ukraine which does not have a parallel Jewish family name—for example, Ivaner, Khotiner, Litinetsky, Nemirov, Umansky, etc. This type of surname is more common among Jews than among Ukrainians—for example, a Jew is named Tarasiuk because he comes from the village Tarasivka, and not because his father's first name was Taras, while for a Ukrainian to get this same surname based on his father's first name is natural.

The lists of occupational surnames of Ukrainians and Ukrainian Jews are similar, though their frequency is different in each population. No Jews have the surnames Chumachenko (“son of a chumak”—a carter of salt in the Ukrainian steppe) or Kobzar (“player on the *kobza*—a Ukrainian national musical instrument). The surnames Korchmar' (“innkeeper”), Kramarenko (“son of a shopkeeper”), Kupchyk (“petty merchant”), Miniailo (“money changer”), and Shinkarenko (“son of an innkeeper”) are more typical for Jews than for Ukrainians.

Among characteristic types of Ukrainian surnames are compound family names. These are composites formed by combining two word roots or stems—for example, Chernous, Kryvoruchko, Tovstonoh, etc. These types of names were used by Jews as

well. A specific subtype is the Jewish hybrid surname, where one component comes from Ukrainian and another from Yiddish—for example, Krutokop (from Ukr. /Krutyholova/ “turning one's head”), Krutopeisakh (“curling one’s side locks”), Kosiburd (from Ukr. /Kosoboroda/ “slanting beard”), Krasnoshtein (from Ukr. /krasnyi/ “beautiful” plus Yid. /shteyn/ “stone”). Some surnames of this type are a combination of a Jewish first name and a Ukrainian apellative, e.g., Khantsenziat' (“son-in-law of Khantse”), Vdovareize (“Reize, the widow”).

The geographical distribution of Jewish surnames according to their suffixes roughly corresponds to the geographical distribution of Ukrainian surnames with corresponding suffixes. For example, the suffix -enko is common in the Kyivan region: Gubenko, Faibishenko, Magidenko, Motenko, Poliachenko; and the suffix -iuk in Galicia: Kvasiuk, Shlomiuk, Shmaiuk.

Among family names of ethnic Ukrainians there are several that derive from Jewish given names—for example, Aronets, Moshko, Shlioma, Shlomenko, Shmil', Shmul', Shulim, Zel'man. Over a dozen other surnames of Ukrainians have been identified as originating in Yiddish: Kumhir, Nisht, Shabas, Shaigets', etc.

Bilingual Songs of Ukrainian Jews

Researchers of Jewish musical folklore have paid attention to Yiddish-Ukrainian bilingual songs and to the influence of Ukrainian folk music on Jewish music. The majority of such bilingual Jewish songs belong to the religious sphere although there are also lyric and humorous songs as well as nursery rhymes that demonstrate the influence of Ukrainian music. Yiddish words inserted into Ukrainian-language Jewish religious songs often belong to the Hebrew component of the Yiddish language.

Jews were acquainted with Ukrainian folk customs, including with those relating to lamentation at funerals. Some Jewish bilingual songs follow the pattern of Ukrainian spoofs of such customs. Among the poetic elements of this genre in Ukrainian folklore, which were adopted in corresponding Jewish songs, are lyric-syntactic repetitions, questions, addresses, tautolological expressions of ideas, syntactic parallelisms, and verbal rhymes. Perhaps the best known of Jewish songs of this kind is called “Mykitka”. Here is the first part of the song:

Ukrainian/Hebrew	***Translation:***
Akh ty, Mykitka, Mykitka, sho s toboi bude? Iak budesh khvorovaty, A doktor tebe bude prykhodaty, I refues tebe bude davaty, A tebe, Mykitka, nishto ne bude pomahaty, Akh, valiai ne valiai, treba umyraty Ulifnei meylekh malkhei ha-mlokhim din ve-khezhbn treba otdavaty.	Ah, you, Mykitka, Mykitka, what will happen to you? When you get sick, A doctor will attend to you, And will give you a remedy, But, Mykitka, it will not help you. Ah, either you wish or not, one has to die And deliver an accounting in front of God, the King of Kings.

Another song of the same genre, which was recorded in Galicia and remains relatively unknown, represents a confession of an atheist on his deathbed. Here is a part of this long song:

Ukrainian/Hebrew	***Translation:***
Pered toboiu, Bozhe, ya teper postavaiu, I pered toboiu, Bozhen'ko, ya si spovidaiu. Bozhe, Bozhe, Bozhe, Mene ne karai! Ta i do pekla, ta i do pekla Mene ne posylai!	Before you, oh God, I stand now, And before you, dear God, I am confessing my sins God, God, God, Do not punish me! And to Hell, to Hell Do not send me!
Yak rano vstavaiu, ruk ne vmyvaiu I moide ani nikoly ne kazav. Bozhe, Bozhe, Bozhe, Mene ne karai! Ta i do pekla, ta i do pekla Mene ne posylai!	When I get up early, I my hands,do not wash And I do not say the prayer moide God, God, God, Do not punish me, And to Hell, to Hell Do not send me!
Roshashune do bozhnitsy nekhodyv, A u iomkiper ne postyv I kapures ne krutyv. Bozhe, Bozhe, Bozhe, Mene ne karai!	On the New Year I did not go to the synagogue, And on the Day of Atonement I did not perform the rite of apores" God, God, God, Do not punish me,

Ta i do pekla, ta i do pekla Mene ne posylai!	And to Hell, to Hell Do not send me!

The following is an example of a humorous song, the comic effect of which is based on the phonic similarity and contrast of meanings of the Ukrainian word /yidesh/ "you drive/ride" and the Yiddish word /yidish/, the name of the Yiddish language—both words are pronounced in the song in the same way as /yidish/:

Yiddish/Ukrainian	***Translation***
Oy, Yidish, Yidish, kudy yidesh? Za chem yidesh? Yidish, yidish, yidish Yidish, yidish, yidish Az men trakht, trakht men yidish Az me redt, redt men yidish Yidish, yidish, yidish Yidish, yidish, yidish	Yiddish, Yiddish, where are you going? For what do you drive? Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish When we think, we think Yiddish, When we speak, we speak Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish
Az me geyt, geyt men yidish Un az me furt, furt men yidish Yidish, yidish, yidish Yidish, yidish, yidish	When we go, we go Yiddish, And when we drive, we drive Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish
A yak yidish, to poidesh. A yak yidish, to doidesh. Yidish, yidish, yidish, Yidish, yidish, yidish.	And with Yiddish, you will set off And with Yiddish, you will arrive, Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish.
Yak ne yidish, Ne poidesh. Yak ne yidish, Ne doidesh. Yidish, yidish, yidish, Yidish, yidish, yidish.	Without Yiddish you will not set off, Without Yiddish you will not arrive Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish Yiddish, Yiddish, Yiddish.

Conclusion

Ukrainian and Yiddish were in close contact through the last five centuries, the results of which are evident in both languages. Dozens of Yiddish loanwords entered Ukrainian dialects and sociolects and the Yiddish language is permeated with hundreds of borrowed and calqued Ukrainian words and expressions. In some instances Yiddish words came into Ukrainian via Polish.

We showed the complex language interaction in the two multiethnic Ukrainian cities of Odessa and Czernowitz. In Odessa Ukrainian words and expressions entered the urban Russian speech in many instances through the mediation of Yiddish. A similar scenario played out in Czernowitz. We can speak of the phenomenon of specific Bukovinian German characterized by an admixture of localisms taken from Yiddish and Ukrainian.

Another area of the interaction relates to family names. Here the Ukrainian influence upon the language practices of Jews is even more pronounced. Many surnames of Ukrainians and Ukrainian Jews are identical. Some other Jewish surnames were created by combining Ukrainian stems with Yiddish stems or suffixes.

Jewish musical folklore in Ukraine shows the clear imprint of Ukrainian influence, including in a number of bilingual Ukrainian–Yiddish songs that demonstrate the stylistic interplay of these two languages.

Ukrainian Influence on Hasidic Music

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Jewish culture over many centuries experienced significant influences from the cultures of the nations among which Jewish people lived. For Jewish culture, these influences were enriching, yet highly selective: the Jewish world could adapt only those features of the surrounding cultures that did not conflict with the Jewish traditional way of life. The realm of music was particularly amenable to such influences, since religious limitations hardly applied to the language of music. Even on the verbal level of songs, the use of foreign words or whole phrases was common, as were parallel translations from Slavic and other languages into Yiddish or Hebrew—all transmitted through melodies and contributing to the unique character of Jewish creativity.

In eastern Europe, Jewish, and especially Hasidic, music benefited greatly from integrating traditional Ukrainian, Polish, Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, and Gypsy melodies into its folk repertoire. Ukrainian influence was probably the strongest. Ukraine was the place where Hasidism was born and flourished. The natural beauty of Ukrainian lands served as a great source of spiritual and musical inspiration for many Hasidic leaders, beginning with the Ba'al Shem Tov (1698-1760), acclaimed as the founder of Hasidism. The Hasidim idolized music. According to the Kabbalah, the Jewish mystical teaching and foundation of Hasidic philosophy, music was a bridge between life, nature, and the divine. Music was a powerful channel for reaching the holiness of God, for being heard by God and, as a result, for changing the world for the better by contributing to *Tikkun Olam* [Heb., "repairing the world"], the highest goal of life.

The ethnographer Abraham Rekhtman recalls gatherings of Bratslaver Hasidim attended by members of the An-sky ethnographical expedition in 1913, which demonstrated the significance of music for the Hasidim: "While dancing, they [the Bratslaver Hasidim] kept singing and repeating dozens of times the words of the Zohar:[1] 'The Torah was given to us with a tune, the *Shekhineh* ["the Divine Presence"] with a tune, and the Jews

will come out of *Golus* ["Exile"] with a tune."[2] According to Rabbi Nahman of Bratslav's musical philosophy, which is based on his in-depth knowledge of esoteric Kabbalah concepts, one holy Yiddish tune "embraces all of Israel."[3] The soul of every individual contains a small fraction, a spark of this holy melody. The *Zaddik* [Hasidic leader] collects those sparks and sings a *velt-nign* ["a world-tune"]. Because he sings the melody with deep understanding and respect, he awakens all of the smaller sparks and makes them sing. People who possess these tiny sparks come to realize that they too are part of this holy *velt-nign*.

The central goal of Hasidic musical philosophy was therefore to assemble as many as possible of the divine particles disseminated in secular tunes. In their search for the divine, they would very often turn to Ukrainian melodies. It was considered a *mitsve* ["good deed"] to purify the melodies and bring out the holiness hidden within them.

There are a number of Hasidic stories that illustrate how particular *nigunim* [spiritual melodies] of the famous rabbis were created following accidental encounters with a Ukrainian song or instrumental melody sung or played by a shepherd (*pastekhl*, in Yiddish). One story (published in Chemjo Vinaver's *Anthology of Hassidic Music*, with annotations by Eliyahu Schleifer) refers to Rabbi Isaac Ayzik of Kaliv (1744-1821), one of the most prominent representatives of early Hasidism. Walking through the forest, the Rabbi heard the melody that a shepherd sang in the Ukrainian language about the forest that separates him from his beloved. The Rabbi immediately improvised Yiddish words to this song, partly translating it and also adding a meaningful Hasidic metaphor about *Galut/Goles* [physical and spiritual exile] that separates him from the *Shekhinah* [the dwelling place of the divine or presence of God in the world].[4] After singing his version of the song to the shepherd, the Rabbi asked him to repeat the song, but the shepherd no longer remembered it. The Rabbi concluded that the song was released and returned to its pure original form, to its holy source. Another version of the song (according to Vinaver, possibly, the oldest one) is attributed to the Rebbe of Riminev[5] and was published in Menahem Kipnis's work[6], under the title with which it became famous: "Royz, royz, vi vayt bistu":[7]

Yiddish		English translation
Royz, Royz, vi vayt bistu! // Vald, vald, vi groys bistu! // Volt di royz nisht azoy vayt geven, // Volt der vald nisht azoy groys geven.		Rose, Rose, how far you are! // Forest, forest, how vast you are! // Would that Rose were not so far, // Would that the forest were not so vast.
Shekhino, shekhino, vi vayt bistu! // Golus, golus, vi lang bistu! // Volt di shekhino nisht azoy vayt geven, // Volt der golus nisht azoy lang geven		Shekhinah, shekhina, how far you are! // Galut, galut, how long you are! // Would that the shekhinah were not so far, // Would that the galut were not so long.

Another, similar situation is described in Abraham Rekhtman's book. The story was recorded during the An-sky expedition in 1913 and refers to the Zaddik Rabbi Leyb fun Pilyave (a small town in the Podolye/Podilia region), who was famous for his compassion and aspiration to reach out to the simple village Jews. According to Hasidic lore, Rabbi Leyb fun Pilyave's benevolence and wisdom enabled him to save his fellow Jews from Ivan Gonta's pogroms in 1768.[8] The story relates that on one of his trips to a remote forest village, when he was escorted by his devoted adherents, he encountered a young shepherd who played a simple and beautiful melody on the flute. The Rabbi asked him to repeat the melody a few times until he and his Hasidim memorized the tune and started to sing it along. When they asked the shepherd to play this melody one more time, he got mixed up and eventually began to play a completely different tune.[9]

The Hasidim embraced Ukrainian folk melodies because of their sincere beauty and warmth, as well as acute dance rhythms, which appealed to the Hasidim's own musical tastes. Hasidim would not only borrow melodies, but would also create new ones in a similar style, using the same melody types. Ukrainian Jewish folklorist Moisei Beregovsky was the first to indicate "a series of similarities in melody and means of expression"[10] in Ukrainian and Jewish folk music. Nevertheless, he was uncertain about the actual origin of those melodies, stating that the common elements in musical expressiveness could have been adopted "from a third source"[11] (such as Polish, German, Romanian, Turkish or Roma/Gypsy). Beregovsky's opinion was adopted and further developed

by the composer and folklorist Max Goldin: "Ukrainian and Jewish musicality, warmth and depth of feeling turned out to be *consonant with each other*."[12] Beregovsky explained this diffusion phenomenon in the following way: "When a certain type of music has penetrated a certain milieu, it can also influence melodies which were created and disseminated in another melody type."[13] Goldin uses the term "*slavisms*" to generalize melodic types as well as modal and rhythmic structures that are characteristic for the East Slavs, which found their way into Jewish, and particularly Hasidic, music. That is why a simple musical transcription of Hasidic tunes (*nigunim*) may often look like a blend of a few typical Slavic melody types. But in the Hasidic interpretation, these melodies have become so creatively transformed to a Jewish music style that sometimes it is almost impossible to recognize the original. As Beregovsky rightfully states: "these 'borrowed' melodies are particularly quick to lose those specific national details that are not appropriate to the expressive means of the new user."[14] In other cases, however, when a joyful dance melody is adapted (e.g., the "Kozachok"), it may remain unchanged for the sake of "exoticism," or parody.[15]

Max Goldin also indicates that some Hasidic songs only borrowed initial intonation patterns from Ukrainian songs and then developed exclusively in the Jewish style, using liturgical modes and means of synagogue recitative. In the song "Po khasidatskomu" ["In Hasidic Style"], the beginning is the same as in the Ukrainian song "Zahrai meni, kozachenko" ["Play for me, Cossack"], but then the melody switches to paraphrase a synagogue recitative. The song has three stanzas to illustrate the Hasidic, *Misnagdic* (non-Hasidic Orthodox), and "aristocratic" or *Maskilic* (modern, progressive) ways of observing the Jewish religion. The melody of synagogue recitative remains unchanged, while the text that applies to the melody is different and may be interpreted somewhere between good-humoured and satire. Thus, this song is a rare example of double parody on both Ukrainian and Jewish patterns.[16]

Another good example is the song "Pastekhl", which refers to a shepherd who lost his only sheep. Worried, he is looking around in the hope of finding the sheep, and asks the passerby peasants who drive horse wagons if they might have seen it: "Adoyni, Adoyni, Adoyni! // Tshi ne bachiv ty, Tshi ne vidzev ty moi ovtsi?" ["My lord, my lord, my lord!// Did you see my sheep?"] The answer is always "neyt!" ["No!"]. The shepherd is in despair as he has to come home without the sheep: "Bida bidu, ovtsi nishto, // A yak zhe ya do domu pridu?" ["Misfortune, disaster, the sheep is not there, // How will I come home?"]

The multilingual text of the song is an interesting combination of Yiddish with elements of Hebrew (Adoyni—"My lord"—a respectable way of addressing a human being, which here can also be explained as an allusion to the Messiah/Moshiach), as well as elements of the Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian languages. The melody starts with a Doina-like Romanian shepherd's flute tune, and then proceeds to imitating synagogue recitative on the words "Adoni!" and ends with Ukrainian dance tune on the words "Bida, bidu…"[17]

Melodies of the "pastekhl" type influenced a number of Hasidic *nigunim.* Another example is a Chabad tune, "Der pastukh," which also begins with a Doina-like motif, similar to the one above, but in the cantorial mode of "Adonai Malakh."[18]

In religious and national songs, the life of a faithful Jew is often interpreted in terms of strictly regulated service to God. The texts of many of these songs combine *loshn-koydesh* (holy language, the Ashkenazi version of Biblical-Talmudic Hebrew) and a blend of elements of several Slavic languages. Slavic vocabulary (Ukrainian, Russian) usually dominates, but it is altered to become a blend of elements, while the main elements of the religious terminology remain unchanged in the original language. The following example is typical:[19]

Hebrew/Yiddish/Ukrainian/Russian	**English Translation**
Rano utrom uvstaval, negl vaser pomival	Woke up in the morning, did the ritual hand washing
Moyde ani uvskazal, tales tfilin nakladal	Uttered "Moyde ani" ["I thank you"], put on tallis and tefillin
Borukh ato ponachal, tsitsele mitsele tseloval	Began "Borukh ato" [Blessed art thou"], kissed "tsitses" [fringes]
Halleluya ya speval, Borkhu mveyrosh runakhilyal;	Sang "Halleluya", bowed with "Borkhu" [Let's bless]
Ryumku vodki vipival, cherna khleba zayedal	Drank a glass of vodka, ate some black bread
Cherna khleba zaedal, tsarsku sluzhbu zatshinyal	And now began the service to the Tsar

Songs based on a combination of the Ukrainian and *loshn-koydesh* are also found in the thematic category of lamentations over the fate of Jews in the Diaspora and a plea to the forefathers to lead them out of exile. Here is an example:[20]

Ukrainian/Hebrew (*loshn-koydesh)*	**English translation**
Avrahamunyu, Avrahamunyu, bat'ku nash, Sho ty ne molysh, sho ty ne prosysh pana Boha za nas? Al'bo nas vykupyty, Al'bo nas vypustyty, Nasha matka vykupyty, Nasha khatka buduvaty leyartseynu.	Avrahamunyu, Avrahamunyu, our father, Why don't you ask, why don't you plead with the Lord God for us? Either to ransom us, either to free us, To ransom our mother, To build our dwelling in our land.

Hasidim adapted numerous Ukrainian song lyrics to their own Hasidic melodies that would be performed during weekly Sabbath gatherings. Reinforced with the powerful expressiveness of collective singing, those original Ukrainian texts would acquire additional mystical connotations, beyond the literal meaning of the words. The song *"Khot' my khudi"* ["Though we are thin"] alludes to the three Patriarchs, the physical and spiritual ancestors of Judaism—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: [21]

Ukrainian	**English translation**
Khot' my khudi, khot' my bidni, Ale nashi bat'ki dobri.	We may be thin and poor, But our fathers are good.

The song "Ne zhurit'sia khloptsi" ['Don't despair, guys"] contains the message that for Hasidim there is always a reason for joy and hope. Chabad Hasidim metaphorically interpreted the *korchma* (tavern) as a

place of God and vodka as the spirit of God, as they sang this tune on their journey to visit the Lubavitcher Rebbe:[22]

Ukrainian	English translation
Ne zhurit'sia khloptsi,	Don't despair, guys,
Shchto s nami budet,	About what awaits us,
My poedem do korchinku,	We will go to a tavern,
Tam vodka budet.	Vodka will be there.

Some of the Hasidic leaders, for example, Rabbi Aharon Perlov of Karlin (1802-1872) even used to address their adherents in Ukrainian or Russian, encouraging them to pray with even more passion: "Zharu poddavai!" ("add more fire [in your prayer]").[23] Beregovsky explains this as a tendency to behave "goyishlekh" (in a peasant's way), in intentional contrast to the dogmatic traditional Jewish *Misnagdic* way.

As we can see, Slavic (and particularly, Ukrainian) elements penetrated both the music and the lyrics of Hasidic songs, though the range of influence in the music and in the lyrics is different. In music, the influence is largely concerned with mystical purification of the adopted melodies and rescuing the so-called "worldly tune," at the same time as more generally expressing admiration for both the joyful or sorrowful Ukrainian tunes. With regard to the lyrics, the infusion of Slavic elements may vary in terms of degree of influence, but usually the "*slavisms*" either contribute to creating a humorous effect by traditional means of macaronic (mixed language) songs, or more often hide a secret religious message that is intended for a closed circle of Hasidic adherents.

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[1] The Zohar, a commentary on the Torah written in thirteenth century Spain, is a foundational work in the literature of Jewish mystical thought known as the Kabbalah.

[2] Abraham Rekhtman. *Yidishe etnografye un folklore: zikhroynes vegn der etnografisher ekspeditsye, ongefirt fun Sh. An-ski* (Buenos Aires, 1958), 256.

[3] Ibid.

[4] In this song, the Shekhinah is a metaphoric representation of the beloved woman and associated with the feminine dimension or power of God (the tenth Sefirah, Malkhut), whereas the lover is a representation of the masculine power of God (the sixth Sefirah, Tif'eret). Until the Messiah comes and the final Tikkun takes place, the lover (the masculine power of God) is temporarily separated from the Shekhinah and may reunite with her only during the heavenly wedding that occurs every Sabbath night. This longing for the Shekhinah is similar to the feelings of the shepherd dreaming about his beloved Royz.

[5] Rabbi Menahem Mendel of Rimanov (1745-1815), a Hasidic Rebbe and author, was well known for his writings and for attracting many scholars to his court in Rimanov, Poland.

[6] M. [Menahem] Kipnis, *80 folks lider: fun Zimrah Zeligfelds un M. Kipnises kontsert repertuar* (Warsaw, A. Gitlin, 1930).

[7] Vinaver, Chemjo. *Anthology of Hassidic Music*, edited with an introduction and annotations by Eliyahu Schleifer (Jerusalem, 1985), 211. Isaac Ayzik Kaliv's version is published in this anthology, along with the music, on pp. 212-13. The version referred to in the present article is that of the Rebbe of Riminev (Rimanov), also mentioned in Vinaver's anthology. Please see musical example no. 1 for the music and text of the Rebbe of Riminev's song. Kipnis notes that the song would be repeated numerous times with and without words.

[8] Ivan Gonta (d. 1768) was one of the leaders of the Koliivschyna revolt of Cossacks against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1768. The Gonta-led massacre of Uman in 1768 resulted in the slaughter of thousands of local Poles, Jews, and Uniates (Ukrainian Catholics).

[9] Rekhtman, 267.

[10] Beregovsky, Moisei. "The interaction of Ukrainian and Jewish Folk Music" in *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski*, ed. and trans. Mark Slobin (Syracuse, 2001), 513. This article was originally published as "Kegnzaytike Virkungen tsvishn dem Ukraynishn un Yidishn muzik-folklor," in the Kyiv magazine *Visnshaft un Revolyutsye* 6 (1935): 79-101.

[11] Ibid., 513

[12] Goldin, Max. *On Musical Connections between Jews and the Neighboring Peoples of Eastern and Western Europe*, trans. and ed. Robert A. Rothstein (Amherst, MA: International Area Studies Programs, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1989), 13.

[13] Beregovsky. *Old Jewish Folk Music,* 524.

[14] Ibid., 525.

[15] Ibid., 525.

[16] This version of the song is taken from: *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*, comp. Aharon Vinkovetzky, intro. Abba Kovner, ed. Sinai Leichter (Jerusalem: Mount Scopus Publications by the Magnes Press, 1983-2004), 3: 141. The melody for this musical example may be accessed at: http://www.ukrainianjewishencounter.org, Yuval Waldman,—*Violin Solo: Four Songs in Hassidic Style,* no. 1; the version sung by Joseph Winogradoff ("Zaigrai meni, kozache, na dudu, na dudu") is at:

http://faujsa.fau.edu/jsa/search.php?artisttext=&artist_select=&titletext=&title_select=&selectlabel=&cattext=&selectgenre=folk&selectlanguage=&select=sort_titled&fetch=50&pagenum=3&id=500353-B&artist=Joseph%20Winogradoff&title=Po%20Chasidatskomu%20(Der%20Chusid,%20der%20Misnagid%20un%20der%20Aristocrat)&playone=1

[17] This version of the song is taken from Beregovsky, *Old Jewish Folk Music*, 132-133. For the melody of this musical example see Yuval Waldman,—*Violin Solo*, no. 2.

[18] This version is taken from: *Sefer Hanigunim*: *Book of Chasidic Songs*, ed. Rabbi Samuel Zalmanoff (Brooklyn, NY: Nichoach, 1948), 54-55. For the melody of this musical example see Yuval Waldman,—*Violin Solo*, no. 3.

[19] From the Kiselgof collection, K 220. Recorded from David Rubich, 54 years old. The Vernadasky National Library of Ukraine, Institute of Manuscripts, Fond 190, no. 187-197. No information on the date and place of recording is available.

[20] Beregovsky, Moisei. "Foreign and Multilingual Songs of the Jews of Ukraine, Belorussia and Poland," in: Vseukrains'ka Akademiia Nauk, Etnohrafichna Komisiia, *Etnohrafichnyi visnyk*, no. 9 (Kyiv, 1930): attachment, pp. 4-5.

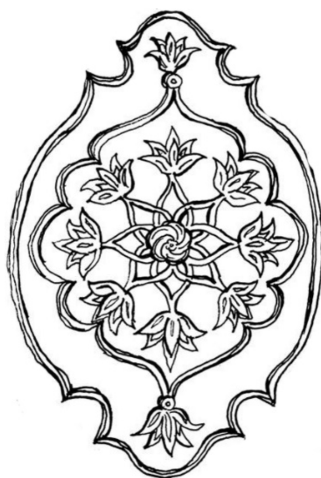
[21] Zalmanoff, 99.

[22] For the melody of this musical example, see Yuval Waldman,—*Violin Solo*, no. 4.

[23] Beregovsky. "Foreign and Multilingual Songs," 42.

PART 4

REPRESENTATION OF "THE OTHER" IN UKRAINIAN AND JEWISH LITERATURES, POPULAR CULTURE, AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES



Perceptions of the Jew in Ukrainian Literature

Myroslav Shkandrij (University of Manitoba, Winnipeg)

The Ukrainian-Jewish relationship is often conceptualized through one of two master narratives: the history of anti-Semitism or the history of the Ukrainian struggle for national liberation. The first links the imaginative representation of Jews in Christian Europe to an unchanging vocabulary with roots in an anti-Judaism that for two millennia has been closely linked to Christian self-affirmation. Within this master narrative Ukrainian-Jewish relations are often seen through a discursive framework of religious hatred and communal violence. The Jewish historian S. Dubnow even spoke of the "pogrom mission" of Ukrainians throughout all history and claimed that this was a feature of the "Ukrainian soul" (Dubnov 1923, 9, 12). Those who follow this line of reasoning might describe the Khmelnytsky Uprising of 1648, the Koliivshchyna revolt in 1768, the revolutionary violence of 1919, and the genocidal killings during the Second World War as irrational social convulsions that constitute episodes in this narrative.

The second master narrative links Jews to Polish, Russian, or Soviet efforts to hold back the rising Ukrainian national movement. With a focus on the struggle for self-determination of Europe's largest stateless nation, this narrative laments the "denationalization" of cities (which in the seventeenth century had been overwhelmingly Ukrainian), the suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture, and the denial of identity—all of which are seen as resulting from Polish or Russian attempts to dominate urban life, education, and high culture, and to assimilate Ukrainians. The alignment of Jews with the dominant nations and their refusal to support the cause of the oppressed majority are seen as linked to a colonial attitude, an expression of contempt for the Ukrainian culture as peasant, rural, and unsophisticated, and therefore a rejection of the possibility of statehood.

Ukrainian literature portrays Jewish-Ukrainian relations in ways that often challenge both these master narratives. It contains a submerged and

little-analyzed discourse of interaction that has spanned centuries but was particularly intense in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are many literary texts that testify to an intimate interaction between figures in the two communities, and to alliances as well as antagonisms between the two peoples.

A negative representation of Jews dominated Ukrainian literature from the 1830s to the 1880s, expressed in portrayals of Agasuerus or the Wandering Jew; Marko Prokliaty (Marko the Cursed), who combats Agasuerus and is the latter's mirror image; the orendar (leaseholder); and the tavern-keeper. In the twentieth century the dominant negative images were the communist commissar and the Chekist (secret police). However, these images evolved, often receiving positive features and reaching a level of individualization and complexity that prevented them from being simplified and used as stereotypes. This evolution occasionally was countered by attempts to displace the complex images with earlier archetypal ones.

The most negative image has probably been that of the Jewish orendar, who in the nineteenth century was portrayed as the scourge of Ukraine. In works depicting Khmelnytsky's time he is portrayed as a tax collector, ruthless exploiter, ally of the foreign oppressor (the Polish magnates), and enemy of Orthodox Christians. The image of the Jew who holds the keys to the church and demands payment for church services became a topos in both Ukrainian and Russian literatures after Mykola (Nikolai) Kostomarov and Panteleimon Kulish introduced the figure in the 1830s and 1840s. Kostomarov's *Pereiaslavska nich: Trahediia* (Pereiaslav Night. A Tragedy, 1841) gives a powerful literary embodiment to this image. The play is set in 1649, and the refusal to unlock the church during Easter week starts the action. Father Anastasii spends an entire day collecting money to pay the orendar Ovram so that the church can be opened. There are additional outrages against Orthodoxy. A Uniate (Byzantine-rite Catholic) bishop is described as being carried by twelve Rus men, with a Jew as driver. It is forbidden to bake Easter bread (paska) and a woman who tries to do so is dragged off by her hair and thrown into prison. In this way economic exploitation is linked to national and religious outrage.

The truth or falsehood of the church-renting issue has been discussed elsewhere (Kalik; Shkandrij 17-19). The significance of the image,

however, lies in the enormous influence it exerted on popular attitudes and the way it was used as an ideological tool. These negative images reached into the past for support, drawing from sources such as the early nineteenth-century *Istoriia Rusov* (History of the Rus); the eighteenth-century Vertep puppet theatre, in which like a *commedia del arte* figure the Jew appears in a stock role (he is in conflict with the Zaporozhian Cossack who outwits or punishes him); and some portrayals in religious dramas and songs. These elements crystallized in the literature of the 1830s and 1840s into the character of the exploitative, merciless orendar—a stereotype made to represent all Jews and used by some political forces to mobilize outrages against contemporary Jewish populations.

During the more liberal 1860s, when Jews were allowed to publish newspapers (in the Russian language) and Ukrainians were given permission to issue the journal *Osnova* (Foundation), Kostomarov wrote several articles on the Jews. He drew a picture of what in his view was the essential Jew, the Jew in all places and in all times. In this regard he summoned up another stereotype, the miser, by invoking Shakespeare's portrayal of Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*, and nineteenth-century portrayals of the Eternal Jew as connected with the image of the European banker (Kostomarov 1862, 46). The orendar of Khmelnytsky's time was in this way "modernized" and became the contemporary capitalist banker. Twenty years later, in one of his Russian-language stories, Kostomarov also suggested Jews might have engaged in the ritual murder of Christians. "Zhidotrepannia v nachale XVIII veka" (Jew-Beating in the Early Eighteenth Century, 1883) describes the murder of a Ukrainian student called Mykola Sokhno by a Jewish tavern-keeper during Hetman Mazepa's rule. The murder is said to be sanctioned by the Hasidic community's *tsaddik*, who is incensed by the student's criticism of Judaism. Sokhno maintains that the evidence presented at various legal trials demonstrates that the accusation of ritual murder must have some basis in reality. He has read everything written by Christians on the subject and is convinced that such murders occurred. In addition, the narrator suggests that there may be truth to the accusations, stating, "nothing infuriates a Jew more than to be reminded of this secret, terrible question, which in spite of many historical facts, remains to this day unresolved"

(Kostomarov 2005, 160). Kostomarov's story was published just after the 1881-82 pogroms, at a time when many writers who were shocked by the events expressed sympathy for the victims. Kostomarov's story appears to be an attempt to challenge this outpouring of sympathy and to reinforce the imaginary border between Jews and Ukrainians at a time when it was being eroded.

Olena Pchilka, who edited the popular weekly *Ridnyi krai* (Native Land) from 1907-14, published a series of articles that reinforced the view that Jews had in the past acted against Ukraine's national interests and persecuted Ukrainians during Polish rule. As proof, she indicated the presence in archives of contractual arrangements with Jewish orendars that prove the existence of church leasings, and insisted that the ancient dumas and folksongs, which she took to be historically accurate depictions of events, proved the widespread nature of this practice. She objected to what was in her view an excessively positive image of Jews in contemporary Ukrainian writing, singling out for ridicule Ivan Tohobochny's *Zhydivka-Vykhrestka* (The Jewess-Convert, 1909), as well as works by Modest Levytsky, Dmytro Markovych, and Stepan Vasylchenko. Challenging their portrayal of kindly altruistic Jews, she insisted in response to a story by Levytsky that in her own experience Jews were more likely to rob than to help a train passenger. She was particularly offended by Vasylchenko's *Zilia Korolevych* (1913) because the play shows a Ukrainian school teacher's attraction to the son of a Jewish merchant. Her comment: "Why could not a capable, intelligent, young villager or Cossack be favored with the young lady's attention?" (Ibid., 225). Her discomfort was clearly not caused by the unconvincing nature of the portrayal but by the fact that a positive image of Jews went against her understanding of the "Jewish national type" as a priori "hostile to the Ukrainian nature" (Ibid., 232). In the spirit of nineteenth-century Romanticism, she held an essentialist view of national character and reacted to the blurring of demarcation lines between national "types" or "natures"—and, by extension, to the dissolution of old stereotypes.

Kostomarov and Pchilka summarize standard Ukrainian prejudices against Jews. Significantly, their works were chosen for republication by MAUP (Mizhrehionalna Asotsiiatsiia Upravlinnia Personalom) [Interregional Academy of Personnel Management] in 2005 and 2006. This private degree-giving institution actively promoted anti-

Semitism (reportedly with financial support from outside Ukraine, including from Iran and Libya) and issued a number of anti-Semitic publications that resuscitated stereotypes from the past. One such publication, *Zhydotriepanie* (Jew-Beating, 2005), is an anthology of selected texts, mainly by Kulish and Kostomarov, which focus on the image of the orendar. In his introduction to this anthology, Vasyl Yeremenko also accuses Jews of ritual murders and attributes revolutionary terrorism to them, including the 1881 assassination of the tsar. The anthology includes anti-Semitic cartoons from the Russian press of the 1880s, reproduced with comments that provide a contemporary spin. The message is that Jewish perverseness has remained unchanged throughout the ages. Another MAUP publication, *Vykynuti ukraintsi* (Rejected Ukrainians, 2006), consists of a collection of Pchilka's journalistic writing from 1908-14. It is introduced by Valerii Arkhypov, who, like Pchilka, refers to folklore as evidence of the widespread despotism of the orendars. He also suggests that the murder for which Mendel Beilis was tried and acquitted was indeed a ritual killing, and deplores the vigorous protests against this libel by the liberal Ukrainian intelligentsia, including Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Like Yeremenko, Arkhypov draws support from reactionary Russian authors who published anti-Semitic brochures in 1912 and 1917.

In addition to the alleged foreign funding for MAUP's anti-Semitic publications, another motivation for returning to these stereotypes might be related to an anxiety created by loss of control over the discourse. As new knowledge, theories, and attitudes challenge stereotypical images, the republication of century-old texts and cartoons may reflect a desire to counter the contemporary deconstruction of stereotypes and to reassert them in an updated context, while linking them with older familiar notions (Said 1978, 58-59). Apparently, this was the strategy of the MAUP publications: to emphasize an image that the editors claim is settled and to appeal to an unchanging view of culture and human nature, while introducing a contemporary twist. The resulting outcry against MAUP's blatant promotion of anti-Semitism, however, put an end to further publications in this vein by this institution.

However, there are also many examples in Ukrainian literature of Jewish characters being portrayed sympathetically. Characters such as the poor Jew, the *vykhrest* (convert), and the victimized girl were prevalent in the years 1880-1917. At this time Ukrainian literature was overwhelmingly philosemitic and portrayed the suffering of the ordinary, poor Jews with understanding. Even the figure of the orendar or tavern-keeper was at times treated in a positive light. This was partly in response to the first great wave of pogroms in the early 1880s, but also partly due to the fact that in these decades a number of figures in the Ukrainian and Jewish intelligentsias worked together in the civil rights struggle against the tsarist regime. There was also a practical consideration. Leaders of the Ukrainian national movement knew that Ukrainians constituted only about a third of the urban population, while Russians, Poles, or Jews made up two-thirds. Aware that they would have great difficulty in finding support among the Russians and Poles, the Ukrainian leadership hoped to form an alliance with the Jews. This became an important part of their strategy in the 1917 Revolution and explains in part the granting of national-cultural autonomy to the Jews and other minorities by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. The collapse of statehood and the ensuing pogrom wave of 1919 effectively ended this cooperation.

Some of the most popular plays of the 1890s—such as Mykhailo Starytsky's *Yurko Dovbysh* (Yurko Dovbush, 1888, 1910) and Ivan Tohobochny's *Zhydivka-vykhrestka* (The Jewess-Convert, 1896, published 1909)—integrate the Ukrainian and Jewish worlds. Often they played to mixed Ukrainian and Jewish audiences. Generally banned in the cities, some Ukrainian theatre troupes toured educational institutions in small towns, including Jewish yeshivas (higher religious schools), and needed plays to reach out to this public. In the wake of the 1905 Revolution, many censorship laws and restrictions were lifted and the first stationary Ukrainian theatre in Kyiv was opened in 1907. It immediately included in its repertoire works by Jewish playwrights and works on Ukrainian-Jewish relations. Ivan Tohobochny's *Zhydivka-vykhrestka* was performed numerous times. Incidentally, this play was also shown at least twenty four times in Canada between 1913 and 1923. The play deals with the issue of converting and assimilating Jews. Sara falls in love with Stepan, becomes a Christian and marries him, by this act breaking her

father's heart. Both she and her father Leibe are liked by the villagers. He disowns her and loses his mind. However, Sara discovers that she has married a philanderer, who quickly returns to one of his previous lovers. She changes back into her Jewish clothing, takes her baby, and returns to her father. Eventually, she hangs herself after observing Stepan's unfaithfulness. The viewer is asked to consider Stepan's destructive passion, which, at one point, even turns his mind to the idea of murdering his wife and baby. The story ridicules anti-Semitic gossip among village women, some of whom swear that during Sara's christening they saw with their own eyes steam rising from her "as though from a chimney" and accuse her of using charms to win over Stepan. Sara, now christened Maria, complains: "Do I not have a soul, a heart like theirs? Even small children are taught to ridicule me! A sorceress they call me…What kind of sorceress am I?" (Tohobochny 1922, 37) Even after she becomes a Christian, she is still ostracized as a Jewess. Her fear is that her son will also fail to find acceptance. Although her mother-in-law and the villagers love her, they are unable to save her. The message is directed both at those who hold prejudices, and those who manipulate these prejudices to further their own immoral acts. At the play's end the audience is made to feel that Sara's conversion and death have been a tragic loss to both the Ukrainian and Jewish communities.

Unlike a number of Russian authors, Ukrainian writers in this period do not express suspicion concerning the motivation of Jews to become Christians—converts are presented as driven by personal love, without expecting any material reward. On the contrary, the emphasis is on the convert's courage and self-sacrificing behaviour, which only makes the prejudiced antagonists appear more ridiculous. Nor is there any suggestion in these plays that Jews should be converted or that Judaism has outlived its time—a theme that has been described as "a commonplace of both Christian apologetics and Romantic historiography since Hegel" (Safran 183). Jewish households are depicted in a number of these plays, implying an acceptance of cultural diversity. Jewish characters are fluent in Ukrainian. They live side-by-side with Ukrainians as full members of the community, even while their cultural specificity is recognized: Jews have their own religion and rituals, their own food, interiors, clothing, and view of the world. It is precisely because Ukrainians know

their Jewish neighbours well that the tragedy of Jewish suffering is strongly felt.

Almost the entire modernist generation of the years preceding the 1917 revolution embraced a philosemitic stance—including writers such as Oleksandr Oles, Ahatanhel Krymsky, Hnat Khotkevych and Volodymyr Vynnychenko. This positive stance was carried over into the revolutionary and immediate post-revolutionary years in the works of Stepan Vasylchenko, Modest Levytsky, and Klym Polishchuk—writers who were widely published or republished in the 1920s. Vasylchenko had made a name for himself in the pre-revolutionary years with his depiction of the downtrodden who yearn for a better future. During the revolution, he wrote stories that portrayed Jewish characters with sympathy and understanding, reportedly in response to a request from Symon Petliura for short popular prose that would help counteract the wave of pogroms. One such story, "Pro zhydka Marchyka bidnoho kravchyka" (About the Poor Jew Marchyk the Tailor), was published in the newspaper *Ukraina* (Ukraine, 1919) and as a separate publication in the same year. It depicts a poor Jew, who, along with his fellow-townspeople, welcomes the February 1917 revolution, but perishes a year later. In this world that promises so much freedom, Avrum and his wife Liia conceive a child. However, when the baby is born, the country has already experienced the invasion of the Red Army and the spread of anarchy. To avoid the approaching violence, Avrum and his family take refuge in a cellar, but the quarter is surrounded and burned down. Those who try to escape are bayoneted. Avrum and his family perish and his story, the one he began telling in a state of euphoria at a meeting in the revolution's early days, remains unfinished. Vasylchenko's narrative reflects the tragic fate of the Jewish population, but also suggests that the moment of coming together was within reach before being lost. The dream of a happy birth and a future in freedom perishes in violence and destruction. Whereas the author's earlier work documented the growth in mutual understanding between two communities, here the violent end to that process is recorded.

Klym Polishchuk's stories deal with the revolution in central Ukraine, but were published in Lviv, where he spent the years 1921-25 before returning to Soviet Ukraine and being imprisoned in the Gulag. His protagonists are unavoidably caught up in the events, find themselves first in one army then another, fight not out of conviction but in order to

survive, and show little enthusiasm for ideology. The story "Manivtsiamy (Iz zapysnoi knyzhky nevidomoho)" (Sideroads: From the Notebook of an Unknown, 1921) presents the diary of a Red Army soldier, a former nationalist supporter, who was killed in battle. It records his horror at witnessing the violence on both sides, particularly when he discovers that Ida Golberg, a celebrated actress, was murdered during a pogrom. Ironically, the commanders of both the nationalist and communist armies know one another intimately. Both claim to be fighting for an independent Ukraine. But the two sides do not encompass all of Ukraine: as the diary's author records burying his beloved actress, he comments poignantly that two Ukraines are fighting one another while a third lies buried in the grave before him.

The alliance of the two intelligentsias continued to a large extent in the Soviet 1920s during the period when parallel Ukrainian and Jewish institution-building brought the two intelligentsias together. In this decade many supporters of Ukrainianization viewed the development of a secular Jewish culture in Yiddish as a potential barrier against Russification, as had the government of the Ukrainian National Republic a few years earlier. The twenties saw the flowering of Yiddish literature in Ukraine and many prominent Ukrainian figures—such as Pavlo Tychyna, Les Kurbas, Maik Yohansen, Yurii Smolych, Myroslav Irchan, and Mykola Bazhan—working closely with Jewish colleagues.

The Jewish voice within Ukrainian literature has been discussed in Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern's book, *The Anti-Imperial Choice: the Making and Unmaking of the Ukrainian Jew*. For the pre-revolutionary years it is worth mentioning Hryts Kernerenko (Kerner), who contributed to the leading Ukrainian journals and anthologies, and produced four books of poetry dealing with love and loneliness. He also published the patriotic "I znov na Vkraini" (Once more in Ukraine), in which Ukraine is described as a promised land that overflows with milk and honey, a "holy" and "sacred" land that is dear to him.[1] From 1900 Kernerenko began writing on explicitly Jewish themes and expressing Zionist sentiments. At the same time he was the first writer to clearly raise the issue of a Jewish-Ukrainian identity. In "Ne ridnyi syn" (Not a Native Son, 1908), he

[1] This poem was published in *Literaturno-naukovyi vistnyk* (Literary-Scientific Herald) 12 (1900): 116-17.

portrays himself as an orphan, who has been adopted by his stepmother, Ukraine. His life has been one of suffering because of the mockery he has endured. Although he loves his stepmother, he feels that he has not been accepted. Published in 1908, the poem presents the situation of Jews who wish see their Ukrainianness recognized, but who feel that the obstacles to creating a Jewish-Ukrainian identity are perhaps insurmountable.

Another poem by Kernerenko, “Monopoliia” (Monopoly, 1902) deals with the law prohibiting Jews to sell alcohol. They had originally received this right from Polish kings in previous centuries. In the wake of the pogroms of 1881-83 the tsar’s Minister of the Interior Nikolai Ignatiev, who blamed the Jews for the violence, banished them from villages and introduced a state monopoly on alcohol production. The poet makes the point that the stereotype of the Jewish innkeeper is no longer valid, and therefore no one has the right to insult a Jew with the word *shynkar*, or innkeeper. The prohibition, in other words, has removed an obstacle dividing Ukrainians and Jews.

Petrovsky-Shtern has emphasized the fact that the conscious choice of Ukrainian as a literary medium was in itself a strong anti-colonial statement. In the face of received imperial opinion, the poet saw Ukrainian as a medium of great sophistication, and one that was congenial to other nations such as the Jews because it was saturated in the discourse of national self-determination. This sentiment aligned him with the views of Vladimir (Ze’ev) Jabotinsky and other Jewish intellectuals who were supporters of the Ukrainian national movement. Petrovsky-Shtern considers Kernerenko among the first to discover that the Ukrainian language was well suited to expressing the political, social, and cultural concerns of Jews and, more broadly, the national concerns of non-Ukrainians.

Raisa Troianker combined nostalgia for a Jewish childhood with an assertive eroticism. At the age of thirteen she ran away from her Jewish family in Uman to live with an Italian tiger-tamer from the visiting circus. Later she fell in love with Volodymyr Sosiura after hearing him read his poetry and followed him to Kharkiv, where she became part of the leading literary circles and published two poetry collections. Yurii Smolych’s memoirs *Intymni spohady* (Intimate Confessions, 1945) focus on her erotic adventures, but her poetry deserves attention not only for the image

of a passionate and vulnerable lover, but also because it is the voice of a woman struggling to reconcile two identities.

After the collapse of tsarism, the Ukrainianization policy brought many Jews to Ukrainian culture. Leonid Pervomaisky is the greatest talent in the large cohort of Jewish writers who entered Ukrainian literature in the 1920s. His writing spans most of the Soviet experience. In his early work he attempted to articulate a Jewish Ukrainian identity. In *Zemlia obitovana* (Promised Land, 1927) he portrays a boy, Yerukhym, who escapes from the stifling atmosphere of the *shtetl* and his alcoholic, abusive Jewish father, and takes up with young thieves in the city. Eventually, he returns, but only to leave again, striking out on his own. He begins to understand "that his escape was a kind of protest," against the synagogue, "the traditional, conservative spirit," and "the implacable Jehovah—a vengeful, degenerate old man" (*Zemlia* 98). And yet, in the final pages, when all other Jews have turned their backs on him, an old man who has read the prayer for the dead over his father's grave (something Yerukhym refused to do), turns to the boy in a gentle way, and placing his hand on his shoulder says: "You are stubborn… That is very good. It is very good to be stubborn. You will reach your goal." Yerukhym rises and shakes the old man's hand warmly. The old man accompanies him to the cemetery gates and wishes him luck. The narrative shows that for the new generation of urbanized Jews the break with their former identity is painful. The message is that the promised land of Israel is being supplanted in the mind of young people like Yerukhym by the "promised land" of building socialism in contemporary Ukraine, even though the substitution of one goal by another will not be easy. Yerukhym is torn between worlds. As a result, this early work is tinged with ambiguity and a subtle tragic irony.

In the thirties, as a ruthless and uncompromising spirit took hold of literature, Pervomaisky moved away from emphasis on the possibility of human understanding. His poetry of 1929-33 asserted a "Stalinist" hard line that characterized the countryside as entirely anti-bolshevik. However, during the war he wrote stories full of Ukrainian patriotism. Persecuted during the so-called anti-cosmopolitan campaign in Stalin's last years, he attempted suicide in 1953. The writer found himself attacked both as a Jew (for "cosmopolitanism" and lack of patriotism) and as a Ukrainian writer (for excessive nationalism).

However, Pervomaisky outlived Stalin. In the sixties and early seventies, he produced his great novel of the war, *Dykyi med* (Wild Honey, 1963) and his best lyric poetry: the verse collections *Uroky poezii* (Lessons of Poetry, 1968) and *Drevo piznannia* (Tree of Knowledge, 1971). These contain lucid imagery, measured rhythms, and an economy of expression. It is the poetry of wisdom and experience, but also passionate feeling. He looks back upon life philosophically and speaks simply about the essential human experiences (youth, love, old age, approaching death), and the great twentieth-century tragedies (war, Babyn Yar, Maidanek, atrocities, idol worship, and lack of self-awareness). He also writes poignantly about the mistakes his generation committed. This was taken by most readers as a reference to the grim years of Stalinism, when many young people had been fanatical supporters of a repressive regime and when writers had often played a deplorable role, however indirectly, in justifying the regime's murderous policies.

Pervomaisky's oeuvre captures the complexities of the entanglement with Soviet reality over six decades and is a good source for understanding how Jewish identity was negotiated in Ukrainian literature. He began as a communist neophyte but gradually eliminated almost everything "Soviet" in himself. By the end of his life he appeared to most readers as simply a Ukrainian writer, whose literary persona encompassed his Jewishness without emphasizing it. His poetry was addressed to humanity, and was often concerned primarily with his own conscience.

Among contemporary Ukrainian writers one of the most prominent is Moisei Fishbein. He is now an Israeli citizen but made his literary debut in Ukraine in the 1970s. He was born in 1946 in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), a city with an unusual mixture of cultures (German, Ukrainian, Jewish, Romanian, Polish and Russian) that has for centuries nurtured a strong and self-confident Jewish population. After 1979 Fishbein worked for a number of years in Germany for Radio Svoboda's Ukrainian section before moving to Israel. Fishbein lives in both the Jewish and Ukrainian worlds, combining identities and patriotisms. He speaks of the tragic experience of the Second World War and the Holocaust: one of his most moving poems "Yar" deals with Babyn Yar. At the same time he shows a profound respect for the Ukrainian language and culture, and laments their

forcible marginalization. The language itself is described in terms of raped child in his “Netorkani y gvaltovani” (Untouched and Raped). Fishbein is best known for the way in which he continually examines his Jewish and Ukrainian identities and meditates on their development. In “Ya vbytyi buv shistnadtsiatoho roku” (I was killed in 1916) he looks to the failed rapprochement of the pre-Revolutionary years. He portrays himself as having been killed during a pogrom in 1916, but also envisages a time when he will be resurrected. Because of his integration of Jewish and Ukrainian perspectives, he has become a symbol of pluralism and tolerance in the post-independence period.

These four writers—Kernerenko, Troianker, Pervomaisky, and Fishbein—can be seen as representing the Jewish voice and identity in modern Ukrainian literature. Each reveals the difficulties faced in articulating this identity. Together they perhaps describe an evolutionary dynamic: from orphanhood, through the struggle for self-definition, to an almost seamless fusion of Jewish and Ukrainian components. Or, in another way of thinking, they model three possible ways of self-perception: as an outsider, as a partially visible but uncomfortably positioned insider, or as a fully acknowledged citizen and patriot.

Apart from these four writers, negative stereotypes of Jews—in particular the exploitative orendar and the dishonest tavern-keeper as a source of social ills—reemerged in the late 1930s in popular dramas performed in western Ukraine, then under Polish rule. These stereotypes came to the fore in conjunction with the promotion of the cooperative movement, the anti-alcohol campaign, and the spread of Prosvita (Enlightenment) reading clubs in interwar Galicia. Jews figured prominently in a negative light in a number of the didactic plays that addressed the problems of poverty and alcoholism among the Ukrainian masses.

Toward the end of the decade a more virulent anti-Semitism emerged in some of these plays. In Vasyl Hulyk’s *Het z lykhvoiu, pianstvom i temnotoiu* (Away with Usury, Alcoholism and Ignorance, 1937), the heroine delivers the following denunciation of Moshko the tavern-keeper and his fellow-Jews: “You are worse than despots, you are usurers and swindlers, with your tricks you have sucked the last juices from our unfortunate people, you hang onto our feet like fetters, and do not allow

us to develop our commerce and industry. With trickery you draw from our people their last, bloody coin; our people are dying from hunger and cold, and are continuously in want. You, on the other hand, drag blood-soaked earnings from us by trickery and grow wealthy, sending the rest [of the money] to Palestine. With our bloody money you build various factories and universities there... Go to Palestine, to the promised land, to work and live there!" (Hulyk 1937, 11). This diatribe is a compendium of the traits that reinforce the stereotype: the Jew is socially exploitative, deceitful, merciless to the local population, and a foreign presence that needs to be removed. Moshko's business does indeed suffer and he decides to leave for Palestine. However, the Ukrainian who buys the tavern from him, hoping to get rich, does not thrive.

The orendar from Khmelnytsky's time and the "keys to the church theme" resurfaced in Spyrydon Cherkasenko's *Vyhadlyvyi bursak: Komediika dlia molodi v 2-kh diiakh z chasiv Khmelnychchyny* (The Enterprising Student: A Comedy for Youth in Two Acts from Khmelnytsky's Time, 1937), and in Panas Fedenko's *Homonila Ukraina* (Ukraine Roared, 1942) which was published in Prague. The character of the orendar in this last book recapitulates every accusation made against Jews in connection with the 1648 Cossack uprising.

Also in the 1930s, Dmytro Dontsov, an influential ideologist of authoritarian nationalism, tried to establish a firm line between the European spirit (to which Ukraine belonged) and the Asian, Semitic, and American, which he depicted in a negative light. He mapped a series of oppositions and contrasts, juxtaposing, for example, Christianity and Judaism, and insisting on their absolute separation, even going so far as to assert that Christ was Galilean and not Jewish. The "works of the Jewish national genius," he wrote, "are foreign to us in the same way as the works of the Ukrainian national genius are foreign to Jews" (Dontsov 1967, 281). There are, however, contradictions in Dontsov's depiction of Ukrainian essentialism as intrinsically different from Jewish essentialism. The Jewish and Christian faiths share not only the Bible as sacred text, but also respect for the sanctity and dignity of each human life, and for compassion and tolerance—this is manifest in Ukrainian literature, which has been deeply influenced by Judeo-Christian values. Dontsov showed a clear aversion to these values, which he, like Nietzsche, associated with submissive weakness. In fact, he rejected almost all leading Ukrainian

writers as “infected” by them. He admired in Christianity the figure of the crusader: religion was merely a tool for mobilizing the nation in a great war against a corrupt civilization. And the enemy was not only communism, but also Western materialism and hedonism, as his brochure *Khrest proty Diavola* (The Cross Against the Devil, 1948), a transcript of a speech he gave in Toronto’s Massey Hall in 1948, makes clear.

Some wartime writers, like Arkadii Liubchenko, gave voice to a racially based anti-Semitism. In his diary he expresses a horror of the *métis*, or mixed natures, and sees the pollution of the pure and noble Ukrainian essence by other races as a source of evil. His view of the nation is very clearly biologically constructed, and the Jew is a foreign body within this organism, preventing its proper functioning and leading to pathological deformations.

Postwar émigré writers associated with MUR (Artistic Ukrainian Movement), such as Yurii Kosach and Dokiia Humenna, produced entirely different perspectives on the war and criticized Dontsov’s views. Yurii Sherekh (Shevelov), the leading émigré critic, argued that the humane and compassionate literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century represented the mainstream Ukrainian tradition. Humenna’s novel *Khreshchatyi yar (Kyiv 1941-43): Roman-khronika* [The Cruciform Ravine (Kyiv 1941-43): A Novel-chronicle, 1956] is an account of the German occupation. The main protagonist, Mariana, is anti-Soviet, anti-Nazi, and critical of all forms of authoritarianism. The novel chronicles the population’s response to the Soviet retreat, the arrival of the Nazis, the massacre in Babyn Yar, and the return of the Red Army. It demonstrates the fluctuation of public opinion, including attitudes toward the Jews. A thoughtful attempt to grapple with the Holocaust and with Jewish-Ukrainian relations in postwar fiction, the novel raises the issues of political conformism, the guilt felt by silent witnesses, and the need to construct a narrative for even the most traumatic events. It tells the story of both Jewish and Ukrainian suffering, and at the same time broadens the idea of nation. Humenna’s imagined nation includes all who have throughout the millennia lived on the territory of Ukraine. In this way, the novel grapples with the issue of who constitutes “family,” how an inclusive identity should look, and how a narrative of inclusiveness can be constructed. The writer’s concept of community stretches racial and

national categories to the point of dissolving them. She invokes the Trypillians, the Scythians, the Polovtsians, the Jews, and other races, all of whom have blended into or left their mark on the people and culture of today's Ukraine.

In the postwar Soviet period, writers such as Mykola Bazhan and Yurii Smolych produced images of Jewish suffering during the war, but the Holocaust as a subject and any expression of Jewish particularism was not permitted. These topics have emerged in the literature produced since Ukrainian independence. Writers such as Yurii Andrukhovych, Mariia Matios, Maryna Hrymych, and Volodymyr Yeshkilev have also complicated the self-image of Ukrainians by finding space within the culture for a Jewish presence. This aligns with the contemporary attempt to fashion an inclusive identity, one that accommodates regional, religious, ethnic, and other variations.

In the post-independence period many writers have tried to dismantle stereotypes and to discredit the idea of simple, organic essences. As they imagine Ukraine and Ukrainian-Jewish relations, however, they still must contend with the history of representation in Ukrainian literature and culture—which includes not only the stereotypes that have been generated, but also the way these have been challenged and transformed.

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Between the Marketplace and Enlightenment: Gogol and Rabinovich's Ukrainian Memory Space

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> *"Who said that my homeland was Ukraine? Who gave it to me as a homeland? A homeland is whatever our soul seeks, what is dearer than all to it."*
>
> Nikolai Gogol, *Taras Bulba*[1]

> *"We imitate other peoples in everything: they print newspapers—so do we; they have Christmas trees—so have we; they celebrate New Year's—so do we. Now, they publish guidebooks to their important cities (they have 'A Guide to St. Petersburg,' 'A Guide to Moscow,' 'A Guide to Berlin,' "A Guide to Paris,' and so on)—why shouldn't we get out 'A Guide to Kasrilevke'?"*
>
> S. Rabinovich (Sholem Aleichem)[2]

Mikhail Bakhtin, in his early writing on Rabelais and Gogol, argues for the significance of comparing the two masters of popular humour, regardless of whether influence can be traced directly or indirectly: "All that concerns us here are those features of Gogol's work which, independently of Rabelais, reveal his direct connection with forms of popular festivity on his native soil."[3] The fair, Bakhtin reminds us, provides a stage on which the writer can restore to language "its active stored-up memory in the full volume of its meaning."[4] The Gogolian marketplace, which introduced Rabelaisan carnival humour to the Russian literary imagination, also depends upon a distinctly Ukrainian landscape to instill a collective spatial memory in the minds of his readers.

Prompted by Bakhtin's comparison of Rabelais and Gogol, I will demonstrate an even stronger literary interaction between Gogol and one of his readers: the Yiddish humourist Solomon Rabinovich, better known by his literary

persona Sholem Aleichem.[5] In yet another rendition of Rabelaisan comedy, Rabinovich evokes the Ukrainian fair to inspire laughter in Yiddish at precisely the moment in which East European Jews were leaving the Russian Empire's Ukrainian borderlands en masse. In the case of Rabinovich's use of the popular fair, Gogol's influence was indisputably direct and the native soil was shared. As David Roskies has pointed out, "Rabinovich kept a box marked 'Gogol' on his desk for work in progress, often quoted Gogol in private correspondence, and even wore his hair as Gogol did."[6] What allows for this unlikely literary parentage, I will argue, is a poetics that allowed both writers to present (albeit with different objectives) a site of collective memory in the face of significant social change through the exaggerated materiality and laughter culture of a Ukrainian commercial landscape.[7]

Gogol invites his readers to his hometown of Sorochintsy by throwing a fair. His 1829 "Sorochintsy Fair" [*Sorochinskaia Yarmarka*] opens with an endless procession of props, characters, and costumes moving towards what will conglomerate into an immense marketplace.

> Since morning the endless procession [neskonchaemoiu verenitseiu] of ox-carts bearing salt and fish had been winding its way along the road. Great mounds of earthenware pots, packed in straw, plodded slowly along, as if sulking at being thus confined to the dark; only occasionally did a brightly decorated bowl or tureen thrust itself ostentatiously up above the tall wattle side of the cart and draw the admiration of the onlookers with its gorgeous patterns [privlekala umilennye vzgliady poklonnikov roskoshi].[8]

Products, animals, market stands, and a combination of Imperial Russia's ethnicities, recalled from Gogol's Ukrainian upbringing (conjured via familiar terrain in the minds of Gogol's readers, and would later attract other authors from Russia's western borderlands.[9] "The Sorochintsy Fair," a crucible for Ukraine's hybrid peoples and products, presents Gogol's native Ukraine as a familiar home for his Russian readership, while leaving it open to penetration by outside commercial forces.

Similarly, Rabinovich sets many of his stories in the fictional town of Kasrilevke, which he models on his childhood town of Voronkov. Rabinovich chooses to call the town by its own name in his 1913 autobiographical novel, *From the Fair* [*Funem Yarid*], a work that, like "The Sorochintsy Fair," renders

the author's birthplace a memory space, beginning with a familiar image of a provincial fair. "Why did I call my autobiography *From the Fair*?" Rabinovich asks his readers.

> A man, as he travels *to the fair*, is full of hope, he himself does not yet know what bargains he'll manage to swing and what he'll manage to fix…He flies there swift as an arrow, at full tilt, don't mess with him, he hasn't got the time! But when he travels *from the fair*, he already knows the deals he's swung and what he's fixed up there, and now he doesn't fly so fast. He has time.[10]

By setting his autobiography at a provincial fair—a space familiar to both the geography and literature (via Gogol) of the Russian Empire's western borderlands, Rabinovich provides a stage for the interactions taking place in the rapidly changing Jewish geography of the Pale of Settlement.[11] The mass emigration of close to two million Jews from the Pale of Settlement to the United States between 1881 and 1914 meant that Rabinovich was not alone in leaving the metaphorical fair. By reading Gogol and Rabinovich through the shared memory space of the Ukrainian fair, we can perceive the literary continuity, across languages, of the Pale of Settlement, the territory that not only housed Polish and Ukrainian populations, but one that also confined Jews to the western reaches of the Tsarist Empire between 1791 and 1917. Gogol's Ukrainian stories illustrate the early years of the Pale, whereas Rabinovich was writing just before the Pale's official end.

Nikolai Gogol and Solomon Rabinovich were both born in small towns in the territory that is now Ukraine—Gogol in Sorochintsy in 1809, and Rabinovich a half-century later and two hundred kilometres to the west in the *shtetl* Voronkov. Nikolai Gogol grew up in a Russian-speaking family, was schooled in Nizhyn (Nezhin) and later moved to the imperial capital. Rabinovich attended, in addition to a Jewish *kheyder* (primary school), a Russian school, the mark of a degree of assimilation in a Jewish family.[12] While Rabinovich, who began writing in Russian and Hebrew, achieved fame writing for a Yiddish-speaking audience, he would serve, as Gogol did for the Petersburg elite, as an exporter of tales from the Jewish Pale of Settlement to a cosmopolitan readership through his publication in Warsaw and Petersburg journals, and his visits to the United States.

The multiple ethnicities jostling in this territory kindled tension in both writers' comedy. Gogol peoples his Ukrainian stories with an amalgam of Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Poles, and Gypsies. In "The Sorochintsy Fair" his young heroine, lost among aisles of wares, marvels at the mix of ethnic types: "A gypsy and peasant smacked hands violently after a bargain, crying out from pain; a drunken Jew slapped a woman on the backside; argumentative fishwives bandied abuse…and crayfish…a Russian strokes his long, goatish beard with one hand, while with his other…"[13] The unlikely mixtures depicted in Gogol's early stories are laden with sexual overtones that are comic in their hybridity. A product of a Judeophobic era, Gogol was, to be sure, no great friend to the Jews, whom he often represents as the most morally ambiguous characters in a story. It is therefore particularly interesting that Rabinovich would have chosen Gogol's commercial Ukrainian landscape to be a memory space for his own readers, and many of Gogol's themes as a means of claiming a Jewish voice in the Tsarist Empire. Not only did Gogol create a memory space for Rabinovich, he presented, through his caricatured Jews, a foil against which Rabinovich would write.

In 1829, before publishing his *Dikanka* cycle, Gogol wrote "Thoughts on Geography" [*Mysli o geografii*], in which he argued that children should be instilled with an instinctive understanding of geography, beginning with a feeling for the world map, gradually filling in natural resources, and finally, the individuals and objects found in that space.[14] When Taras Bulba refers to the Ukrainian homeland as "whatever the soul seeks," he offers another key to Gogol's geographical system, in which Ukraine represents, metaphorically, the soul of the imperial Russian landscape. Robert Maguire, among others, has observed that, for Gogol, "'South' stood for movement, warmth, wholeness, and life, whereas 'north' betokened immobility, coldness, fragmentation, and death."[15] Herderian trends in ethnography arguably played a role in Gogol's creation of a Ukrainian landscape for export, which appealed to his Russian readership's vague image of Ukrainian nature, ethnicities, and products. By creating a memory space out of this landscape he suggests an idealized geographic origin that he likens to the collective Slavic spirit without actively affirming Ukrainian linguistic or geographic independence.

Gogol's early commercial landscape, with its products and peoples, is a laboratory for inspecting the effects of the Enlightenment, specifically in its Russian incarnation, on the human soul.[16] As Robert Maguire has observed, Gogol's works reveal a deep skepticism about the effects of Western Enlightenment in Russia: "Gogol goes beyond skepticism to outright mistrust of

the Enlightenment and all its manifestations, particularly order, symmetry, and reason, with the corresponding loss of intuition, vitality, emotion, and religion."[17] Gogol's most morally suspicious characters are the most challenged by the objects representing the West in general, and France, the cradle of the Enlightenment, in particular. Thus we find, in *Dead Souls*, "It must be added that at the same time [Chichikov] was thinking about a special brand of French soap which imparted an unusual whiteness to the skin and freshness to the cheeks."[18] Similarly, immediately upon discovering a sum of money hidden in the demonic painting in "The Portrait," Chartkov "visited a French restaurant [zashel k restoranu-frantsuzu]."[19] The porous Russian market tries the resilience of the spirit, and Gogol's characters usually fail the test.[20] From the folk-influenced *Dikanka* stories to his Petersburg tales to the heroic epic, *Taras Bulba*, Gogol's landscape of exchange undergoes a series of transformations, finally emerging as a metaphor for the quintessence of human deception in Gogol's narrative tour-de-force, *Dead Souls*, in which a marketing scam fills all of Russia.

"The Sorochintsy Fair" was a wild success, and seemed to arise out of thin air, or at least out of the market noise and miscellaneous objects that fill the commercial space: "Oxen, bags, hay, gypsies, pots, peasant women, spice-cookies, hats" [*Voly, meshki, seno, tsygany, gorshki, baby, prianiki, shapki*].[21] The enumeration of objects, mixed with human market types, yields a humorous effect that Henri Bergson would, in his writings on laughter, attribute to the juxtaposition of matter and the soul. "Where matter thus succeeds in dulling the outward life of the soul, in petrifying its movements and thwarting its gracefulness, it achieves, at the expense of the body, an effect that is comic."[22] In Gogol's prose, objects, particularly those that can easily be purchased, always overtly distract the character from the more spiritually pressing task at hand. Yurii Mann has observed that throughout Gogol's oeuvre, objects assume independent actions: "It is as though sideburns, mustaches, waists, women's sleeves, smiles, etc. were wandering along Nevsky Prospekt all by themselves."[23] According to Mann, these soul-less objects [neodushevlennye predmety] literally step in to challenge the individual in his or her spiritual development: "That which preoccupies the human being—and I am speaking of course about one's own development of a Christian sensibility [rech' idet o khristianskom samovospitanii]—takes place inside him and, of course, with his participation, but alongside that is the influence of another, stronger, divine power. Once again we see the natural and relentless procession of objects."[24]

Rabinovich, like Gogol, uses images of provincial Ukraine to give his Jewish readers the illusion of a common *shtetl* past. Best known in the United States for his "Tevye" character, who became a symbol of the Jewish departure from eastern Europe thanks to the Broadway musical *Fiddler on the Roof*, Rabinovich might be seen as responsible for canonizing the Ukrainian *shtetl* as the lost Jewish topos of the old world, partly by his own design, partly through the simplified afterlife of his stories. As David Roskies has observed, "for American Jews, the whole of Eastern Europe had been turned into a single *lieu de mémoire*, or memory-site, called a 'shtetl.'"[25] If Ukraine, for Gogol, represented the soul of Russia and the Ukrainian fair was a microcosm in which characters fought against the dangerous material influences of the outside world, for Rabinovich, the Ukrainian *shtetl*, or market town, was a newly sanctified home for the collective memory of Russian Jews who were rapidly emigrating.[26] However, it is important to bear in mind that, whereas Gogol, in his later works, includes Ukraine and Russia in a vision of a united *Rus'*, Rabinovich takes for granted that the Jews should leave. It is in this spirit of honest (if funny) disillusionment that he wrote "A Guide to Kasrilevke," a parodic Baedeker that includes seven sections, decreasing in desirability: "Transportation," "Hotels," "Restaurants," "Liquor," "Theater," "Fires," and "Bandits." For Rabinovich trade is not inherently compromising as it is for Gogol; rather, the interactions that took place in the Ukrainian commercial landscape were increasingly physically threatening to the lives and welfare of Jews and Rabinovich subtly expresses this by depicting marketplace exchanges gone awry.

Illusory material objects of desire present an important theme in Rabinovich's earliest works. In his first successful story, "The penknife" [Dos meserl], the young protagonist is compelled to steal a penknife that belongs to the family's lodger, a German Jew named Hertz Hertzenhertz who "was bareheaded, beardless and without earlocks." Hertzenhertz comes straight from Germany, the heart of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, or *Haskalah*, and is therefore an outsider to the Yiddish-speaking *shtetl* community. "How could I keep a straight face," relates the protagonist, "when this Jewish *goy* (or *goyish* Jew) spoke to me in his fractured Yiddish—a queer dialect that was more German than Yiddish?"[27] As the French soap and restaurants of Gogol's stories are corrupt due to their link to the European Enlightenment, the coveted

knife is tainted (yet particularly desirable), coming as it does from the origins of the *Haskalah*. The protagonist who, at the age of ten, is learning to hate his cruel *kheyder* teacher, and has already been labeled "little apostate," a gruff term of mixed endearment and ridicule by his father, is linked to the strange German by more than his longing for the boarder's property.

Once the object has been stolen, however, it takes on a Gogolian nose-like life of its own: the protagonist, witness to his *kheyder*-teacher's brutal ridicule of a poor classmate who has stolen money from a charity-box, resolves to throw his own stolen object into the water.

> I grabbed the penknife and dashed to the well. I wasn't holding a knife, I imagined, but something hideous and despicable that I wanted to get rid of—and the quicker, the better. Still, I regretted losing the knife—it was so expensive. I stood for a minute lost in thought. I fancied I was holding a living thing, and my heart grieved.[28]

The character's guilt brings him to the point of hallucination, and his eventual recovery and redemption only occur through the semi-lucid realization that the knife is at fault. The message Rabinovich imparts to his young readers appears transparent: one should not steal or lie. The deeper message, however, seems to be aimed at Rabinovich's adult readers, and involves the child's newfound ability to cut through surface-level assumptions about good and evil. Those who care about the child, including his parents and the German *Maskil*, are at his bedside when he recovers; the *kheyder* teacher, bent on teaching the pupils a moral lesson, is exposed (through the child's delusional ranting) for his cruelty. The "German's" little knife "that could cut anything I wanted,"[29] however, can cut both ways: The tools of Enlightenment may enable a perspective that sees beyond traditional Jewish life, but the narrator is always at risk of being cut by them.

Rabinovich's Ukrainian stories often begin with purchases made on credit, and many include animated lists of marketplace items that, like the wares at Gogol's Sorochintsy fair, lead the reader directly into the narrative.[30] At the opening to one of his popular *Menachem-Mendl* stories, which appeared between 1892 and 1913, we find:

> I take my walking stick and venture out onto Greek Street, as the place where Jews do business is called, and there are twenty thousand different things to deal in. If I want wheat, there's wheat. If I feel like wool, there's wool. If I'm in the mood for bran, there's bran. Flour, salt, feathers, raisins, jute, herring—name it and you have it in Odessa.[31]

Whereas visitors to Gogol's Sorochintsy fair travel from the countryside to a temporary centre, Rabinovich's wide-eyed provincial characters find themselves in big cities and must navigate these scenes through the familiarity of products. Like Gogol's marketplace objects, these products distract Rabinovich's characters from their own best intentions. Menachem-Mendl travels the world inventing get-rich-quick schemes. His adventures begin when he is given, in place of a promised dowry, a small sum of cash, two promissory notes and an illegitimate "draft" on bad credit (to be redeemed in Odessa). These notes become the story's currency, initiating and continuing the narrative flow much in the way sleeves and collars piece together Gogol's tales.

Menachem Mendl's wife Sheyne-Sheyndl, who remains at home in Kasrilevke alternately scolding her husband for his bad investments and sending him money when his ventures fail, is closest to the tactile Gogolian marketplace. Gogolian characters occasionally appear in her *shtetl*. In one letter she writes that a government inspector has arrived in town to ascertain what has become of certain sums of money meant for charity, an echo of Gogol's government inspector [*revizor*], whose anticipated arrival shakes a town to its core, unearthing the illegitimate finances of its provincial elite. Rabinovich thus assimilates two distinct manifestations of the Gogolian commercial landscape. Through Sheyne-Sheyndl, he returns to the Ukrainian memory-space of Sorochintsy, its small-town market and provincial relationships, and through Menachem-Mendl we see the broad wanderings, questionable currency and immaterial purchases of Chichikov in *Dead Souls*. Like "The Sorochintsy Fair," the *Menachem Mendl* stories reveal two distinct, but narratively interdependent, stories that compete on an open market for the reader's sympathy.

Both Rabinovich and Gogol thus reveal a painful tension between the wide world, representing enlightenment (be it the European Enlightenment or the Jewish *Haskalah*), and the provincial marketplace. Menachem Mendl, for all of his mistakes, urges the Yiddish reader to imagine a Jewish world that is not limited to the confines of Kasrilevke. This incitement to imagination looks

something like the conversation, in Rabinovich's short story "Seventy-Five Thousand," between Yankev-Yosl and his wife Ziporah, when the former has (erroneously) decided that he has won a jackpot of seventy-five thousand rubles:

> "How much have we won?" she says, gazing right into my eyes, as if saying: "Aha! You're lying, but you're not gonna get away with it!"
> "Gimme a for instance—how much do you figure we've won?"
> "I have no idea," she says. "Maybe a few hundred rubles?"
> "Why not," I say, "a few thousand rubles?"
> "What do you mean by a few thousand?" she says. "Five? Six? Maybe as much as seven?"
> "You can't," I say, "imagine more?"[32]

Rabinovich, by juxtaposing Kasrilevke and the wide world, wanted his readers to imagine more, even if the ticket to get there proved to be one number off.

Gogol's tales of misbegotten business ventures are, by contrast, more judgmental than they are optimistic. The folktale embedded within "The Sorochintsy Fair," tells of the terrifying reproduction of marketplace matter—in this case a devil's red coat. An errant demon who has pawned his red coat "to a Jew who sold vodka at the Sorochintsy fair," returns to find that the coat, having been passed from merchant to merchant, has been chopped to pieces and distributed about the fair.[33] Ever since, the devil returns to the fair each year in the form of a pig to gather his lost scraps of jacket. Gogol thus dramatizes the relationship between the human soul and the material that threatens it. The ubiquitous red cloth, which has taken on a devilish life of its own, would continue to reproduce itself in Gogol's later work, appearing in its final cranberry-hued incarnation on the back of Chichikov, whose own pig-like presence finds him wandering from market to market, collecting the lost souls of imperial Russia. For Gogol, this comic, devilish object subtly draws the reader's attention to more pressing ethical questions. As Bakhtin reminds us, Chichikov's purchasing of dead peasants gives the reader "a more accurate view of the real images and processes of the serf economy (the buying and selling of human beings)."[34]

For Gogol, the dangers lurking at the depths of the Sorochintsy fair exist in part due to the presence of Jews, whose marketplace presence in nineteenth-century eastern Europe represents the dark side of capitalism. As George Grabowicz has pointed out, often in early nineteenth and twentieth-century Ukrainian and Russian literature "Jews appear as Polish spies or agents, and even

if they are simply go-betweens, with access to both sides, they are not to be trusted."[35] The few references to Jewish characters in literature set in Ukraine before Gogol link Jews precisely to their marketplace presence. Ivan Kotliarevsky, in his 1794 Ukrainian parody of Virgil's *Aeneid* describes the Ukrainian Aeneas's descent into Hell, which boasts a motley array of sinners all baking, including (but certainly not limited to) Jewish merchants:[36]

> Buly tam kupchiki provorni
> Shcho yizdyly po yarmarkam
> I na arshinets' na idbornyi Pohanyi prodavaly kram.
>
> Tut vsiakii buly pronozy,
> Perekupky i shmarovozy,
> Zhydy, miniaily, shinkari…[37]
>
> [There were cunning merchants
> Who went to every fair
> And on false yardsticks
> Sold goods.
> There were all kinds of crafty types,
> Petty traders and snake-oil-salesmen,
> Jews, barterers, tavern-keepers …]

Gogol makes Kotliarevsky's influence on his work transparent, using epigraphs from the Ukrainian mock *Aeneid* (found objects in their own right) throughout "The Sorochintsy Fair."[38] The aristophanic laughter in the *Dikanka* tales is indeed in keeping with what Mykola Zerov has called "Kotliarevshchyna," a tendency among Ukrainian writers after Kotliarevsky to write classical literary themes in a village humoresque.[39] Much as Rabinovich would later draw from Gogol's Ukrainian landscape in mapping a memory space for his Yiddish readers, Gogol was himself drawing upon a tradition of specifically Ukrainian humour, objects and market-goers.

In "The Sorochintsy Fair," the implied kinship between pigs, devils, and Jews presents a moral lesson about the dangers of overzealous trade, in which the Jew is invariably the negative example. At precisely the moment when he begins "to pray in the Jewish fashion" ["po-zhidovski molit'sia bogu"], the Jew

is haunted by "pigs' snouts poking in at every window!"[40] Here is an image of Gogol's poetic justice, a system by which Jews are rewarded for their crimes with the least kosher of animals. No sooner has this folktale been conveyed within Gogol's story than the listeners are frightened by a pig, whose face appears at the window of the tavern, "As if to ask, 'And what are you doing here, good people?' [A chto vy tut delaete, dobrye liudi]."[41] prompting them to connect the frightening legend with the unsacred space they inhabit. The subsequent mayhem follows an excerpt from Kotliarevsky's *Aeneid*:

> …Pidzhav khvist, mov sobaka,
> Mov Kayin, zatrusivs' uves';
> Iz nosa potekla tabaka.[42]
>
> […Pulled his tail between his legs, like a dog,
> Like Cain, starting to shake all over,
> Tobacco seeping from his nose.]

The citation separates Gogol's folk legend from his frame story, reminding the reader that his memory space depends on the past literature of Ukraine. The de-contextualized hero of Kotliarevsky's mock epic, present at Gogol's fair along with his tobacco, is a collective memory device. As Bakhtin reminds us, the epic, affirmed by its relationship to the past, is unbalanced by a comic, vernacular presence: "Laughter destroyed epic distance; it began to investigate man freely and familiarly, to turn him inside out, expose the disparity between his surface and his center, between his potential and his reality."[43] Gogol, by staging his Russian- language comedy on the Ukrainian periphery and by using Kotliarevsky's words (in their Ukrainian original) as an alternative literary history to the epic genres that were gaining popularity in Petersburg, offset the centrality of the imperial capital and its Western pretensions.[44] Gogol's introduction of Jewish characters to his Ukrainian texts increases this sensation of a tale told from the margins of the Russian Empire.

The Ukrainian commercial landscape would later appear throughout Gogol's own epic novel, which he housed in Ukraine and based on one of several uprisings following Bohdan Khmelnytsky's anti-Polish campaign of 1648. Much of the violence in *Taras Bulba* either occurs on market squares or makes direct reference to treason by means of commoditization. The despondent Cossacks in *Taras Bulba* are drawn into battle by outrage against blasphemous religious combination. "'Hang all the Jews!' rang out from the crowd, 'don't let

their Jewesses sew skirts out of our priests' garments! [Pust' zhe ne sh'iut iz popovskikh riz iubok svoim zhidovkam!]"[45] The Jewish women who make skirts out of (Orthodox) priests' vestments are turning religious garb into commonplace material, an act that assumes a connection between the Jew in Ukrainian culture and commercial pragmatism. The Jews in *Taras Bulba*, while despised, can negotiate magically between the hero and his goal. Having spared Yankel's life, Taras continues to encounter the Jew, the latter magically appearing to negotiate difficult situations, for the right price. "Passing through the outskirts, Taras saw that his protégé Yankel had already managed to erect a stall with an awning for himself and was selling flints, handfuls of gunpowder in paper cones, and other military items—even bread rolls and dumplings."[46] Whereas Taras, in his resemblance to Khmelnytsky, recalls Ukraine's history, Yankel evokes the eternal return that is indicative of the market, and that effectively negates history.[47] It is Yankel who later informs Taras that his son Andrii has fallen in love with a Polish woman and deserted his Cossack band to join the enemy forces. And once again, Taras returns to the Jew to request his intervention so that he may see his son Ostap, who has been captured by the Poles, one last time. A professional intervener, Yankel is able to bring this about by speaking Yiddish to the Jews who live in the Polish town.

Strikingly, although the emphasis on Ukrainian national pride wanes between the 1835 and 1842 redactions of the novel, the emphasis on the marketplace and on ethnic exchange increases. In the 1835 edition, for example, Taras tells Yankel, "You're mistaken, cursed Judas! The baptized child could not have sold his faith. [Ne mozhno, chtoby kreshchenoe ditia prodalo veru] If he were a Turk or a dirty Jew [nechistyi zhid]…No, he couldn't have done it! Oh, God, he couldn't!"[48] In this version, Taras's response is a Cossack's lament. As he does throughout both redactions of the novel, Gogol inserts Ukrainianisms, such as "ne mozhno" (rather than the Russian "ne mozhet byt'"), thus perpetually reminding the reader of the Ukrainian setting. In 1842, however, the conversation is much longer, and Gogol dwells on the double meaning of "selling" in the minds of the Cossack and the Jew. Here, Taras asks Yankel, "How could he, in your opinion, have sold his native land and faith?" [Tak eto vykhodit, on, po-tvoemu, prodal otchiznu i veru?] To this, Yankel responds, "I'm not saying that he sold something, I only said that he went over to their side." [Ia zhe ne govoriu etogo, chtoby on prodal chto, ia skazal tol'ko, chto on pereshel k nim.][49] Thus, in the later version we see Gogol's increased attention to the moral imperative

of resisting commercial exchange, as well as a heightened awareness of the interactions between ethnic groups coexisting in Ukraine. This awareness accompanied a more general shift, in Gogol's later work, toward portraying Ukrainian Cossacks as Russians' brethren within the Tsarist Empire. The marketplace, in this later period, is still a necessary metaphor for signaling a threat to the Slavic spirit from dangerous outside (in this case Jewish and Polish) forces, but the threat spans a far vaster territory and its consequences are of epic proportion.

"The Sorochintsy Fair" and *Taras Bulba*, eclipsed in recent editions by *Dead Souls* and the Petersburg stories, were, precisely during Rabinovich's career, Gogol's most popular works. As Stephen Moeller-Sally has shown, between 1886 and 1892 "The Sorochintsy Fair" was second only, in editions published and copies sold, to *Taras Bulba*, and remained among Gogol's three most popular works until 1903.[50] We can assume that when Rabinovich evokes Gogol's popularity, these Ukrainian works are prominent within his own recent literary memory. If the devilish coat in "The Sorochintsy Fair" reflects Gogol's fear of the capitalist ventures, in which Jews are understood to be complicit, threatening the Slavic soul, for Rabinovich, the Ukrainian marketplace, an increasingly frequent site of violence against Jews in the early twentieth century, represented a more immediate, physical danger.

It is, in part, these dangers that Rabinovich attempts to avert by urging his readers to leave the Ukrainian landscape. For a successful means of conveying this message, Rabinovich looked, in large part, to his older contemporary, Sholem Abramovich, whose likeness hung on the wall of Rabinovich's Kyiv study alongside that of Gogol.[51] Abramovich had become popular in Yiddish under his own pseudonym, Mendele Moykher-Sforim (Mendele the Book Peddler). Abramovich, dubbed "the grandfather of Yiddish Literature" by his younger colleague Rabinovich, had created a road-weary book vendor/narrator, whose marketplace gestalt is transparent in the introduction to one of his best-known stories, "Fishke the Lame:" "My stock in trade: Rags and cast-offs…Beggars are the stuff of my dreams; cadging bags the constant subject of my reveries."[52] Mendele's reader is a customer, tempted by the best in junkyard comedy, with a little tragedy thrown in to boot. Unlike the worldly author Abramovich, whose horizon includes classical European literature, ideas of changing Jewish practices and thoughts of migration to a Jewish state, the narrator Mendele, for all his traveling, does not see far beyond the *shtetl*. Both Rabinovich and Abramovich were thus borrowing what Boris Eichenbaum would later refer to as Gogol's *skaz* technique by adopting a common market

vendor's disguise as a means of selling the messages of the enlightened writer to a yet unenlightened readership.[53]

In 1884, a year that saw the republication of Gogol's collected works, Rabinovich wrote, "In Russian literature the names of Gogol and Turgenev will live forever, for the former was a satirist and the latter a humorist, and both were great poets. Our poor Yiddish literature, too, has its humorist (Abramovich) and its satirist (Linetski)—of course, on a smaller scale."[54] Rabinovich's eagerness to equate Yiddish and Russian literatures reveals much about his goals as a Yiddish writer. Humour, a credible landscape, and a sense of the vernacular were at the heart of the Yiddish writer's synthesis of the Russian classics.[55] The memory space that Rabinovich is accessing through his return to local markets and fairs is thus a synthesis of Abramovich, who, in the disguise of a marketplace vendor, urged for movement away from Ukraine; and on Gogol, whose familiar commercial landscape urges the reader to remember the space left behind.

In contrast to Gogol's use of Jews to represent the margins, Rabinovich relegates Ukrainian and Russian characters to the stories' periphery.[56] Whereas Gogol's heavily caricatured Jew is a marketplace expert, closely tied to pigs and other marketplace products and profiting against all odds from the devil's coat, Rabinovich's characters (like the author) are usually failures at trade. Menachem-Mendl deals in stocks, because, according to Dan Miron, "dealing with them does not involve coming into contact with the materiality, the heaviness, the very reality of the goods he enumerates—all of which come from the earth or from the bodies of animals."[57] Menachem-Mendl may spend his days in marketplaces, but he spurns the signifying animals that have passed from market to literary market. Longing for business, but without the stomach for gritty reality, Menachem-Mendl falls prey to every scheme he finds; his only truly marketable products are witty missives. Very much in the spirit of Bergsonian laughter, material products perpetually triumph over Menachem-Mendl's spirit, defeating the would-be speculator until he turns to more community-oriented literary pursuits. [58] Between 1892 and 1913, years that witnessed new restrictions against Jews in Russia, a resurgence of anti-Jewish pogroms (many of which broke out in marketplaces) and the blood libel case against Mendel Beilis in Kyiv, Rabinovich's Menachem-Mendl travels to Odessa, Warsaw, America, and Palestine, gradually finding success only as he gains distance from Kasrilevke, and from his early marketplace ventures.

Given the stereotypes sprinkled throughout his work, it is no wonder that Gogol has been dismissed by Jewish readers, from Simon Dubnow to the Soviet critic S. Mashinsky, as one of Russia's many literary anti-Semites. What Rabinovich was borrowing from Gogol, however, was the formal trope of exchange within literature, the commercial landscape in the Pale of Settlement, and the careful masking of danger (physical and spiritual) through laughter. After narrowly escaping a pogrom in Kyiv in 1905, the Yiddish writer left Ukraine, with his family, for Europe and the United States. What would have been all too clear to Rabinovich's readers, was that the marketplace, like all of laughter culture, is dangerous. In Rabinovich's prose, however, actual violence is merely intimated. Menachem-Mendl is financially torn apart on the market, while his limbs remain intact despite the unnamed fear of pogroms. The violence that remains masked by laughter in Rabinovich's prose certainly lurked below the surface, for writer and readers alike.

Bakhtin's approach to the literary marketplace is most commonly understood to be positive, based on his discussion of Rabelaisan catharsis. It is in his earlier notes on Gogolian laughter, however, that he reads Gogol for the danger underlying his comedy: "A school of nightmares and horror. The funny fiends [*smeshnye strashilishcha*] in Gogol. The plague and laughter in Boccaccio. The funny fiends in "The Sorochintsy Fair."[59] These funny fiends, from "The Sorochintsy Fair" to *Dead Souls*, are what drew Rabinovich into Gogol's marketplace.

Both Rabinovich and Gogol, by moving from the marketplaces of Ukraine to the entire Russian Empire (Gogol) or the entire Jewish World (Rabinovich), are engaging in a form of enlightenment even as they caution their readers against the false handshakes of the world market. We can thus read their continual return to the provincial marketplace and its familiar forms of exchange as an attempt to force their readers to remember a space that stands in for a collective origin. The simultaneous awareness of an expanding world and self-conscious return to the Ukrainian memory-space involved the perpetual coexistence, for both authors, of joyful memory with a terrifying (and ever increasing) loss.

We have seen that Gogol, already at the beginning of his career, was creating a space and an archetype for a mixture of joy and terror. His marketplace, as attested by the red coat, is ridden with evil. While the devil is generally a comic figure in folk theater, Gavriel Shapiro calls Gogol's devils

"frightening and ever-present—the embodiment of *poshlost'*, which Dmitrii Merezhkovskii defined as the physiognomy of the crowd, the aspiration to be like everyone else."[60] The wedding that concludes "The Sorochintsy Fair," however, is less a celebration of the young people's love than it is a terrifying marriage of marketplace types. A fiddler transforms the crowd "into a scene of unity and harmony," including the old women "whose ancient faces breathed the indifference of the tomb." This final dance, which absorbs the individual into the soul-less ubiquity of the market crowd, reveals Gogol's struggle between the laughter, provoked by material objects, and the spirit, which is threatened by the presence of these marketplace objects. Bergson, in probing the inevitable union of matter and spirit, has proposed that, "whilst introspection reveals to us the distinction between matter and spirit, it also bears witness to their union."[61] Gogol's narrator, frustrated by precisely this union, leaves us on an abrupt note of dissatisfaction. "Is it not thus that joy, lovely and fleeting guest, flies from us, and in vain the last solitary note tries to express gaiety… Heavy and sorrowful is the heart and nothing can help it."[62] The joy of a collective memory space is always necessarily accompanied by the tragic awareness of materialism. This sentiment, conceived in the chaos of the fair at Sorochintsy, would reappear in Gogol's famous "laughter through tears" passage in *Dead Souls*, a work in which the past identities of the dead are exchanged for capitalist value.

> And for a long time still I am destined by a wondrous power to walk hand in hand with my strange heroes, to view the whole of hugely rushing life, to view it through laughter visible to the world and tears invisible and unknown to it! [*skvoz' vidnyi miru smekh i nezrimye, nevedomye emu slezy!*] [63]

On 15 May 1916, when Solomon Rabinovich was buried in the Mount Neboh Cemetery in Cypress Hills, Queens, his headstone was inscribed with his original epitaph, which ends with his own rendition of Gogol's "laughter through tears" motif:

> And just as the public was
> Laughing, chortling, and making merry
> He suffered—this only God knows —
> In secret, so that no one should see.
>
> [*Un davke demolt ven der oylem hot*
> *gelakht, geklatsht, un fleg zikh freyen,*

hot er gekrenkt—dos veys nor got –
besod, az keyner zol nit zeyen.]

Rabinovich used to keep a Yiddish translation of Nikolai Gogol's "laughter through tears" passage from *Dead Souls* on his desk.[64] Gogol's urge to preserve a collective memory space in the face of a rapidly changing world is shared, albeit with a very different ideological goal, by his Yiddish reader. The fine line separating Yiddish literature as a means of enlightenment and enlightenment as a force destroying Yiddish gave Rabinovich the fear of loss that he would take with him, quite literally, to the grave.

Rabinovich enclosed his epitaph in his Last Will and Testament, written on 19 September 1915, a few months before his death. In the first of ten points outlined in his will, the Yiddish writer specifies that:

> Wherever I die, I wish to be buried not among aristocrats, big shots, or wealthy people, but precisely among ordinary folk, workers, the real Jewish people, so that the gravestone which will be placed on my grave will beautify the simple graves around me, and the simple graves will beautify my grave, just as the simple, honest folk during my life beautified their folk-writer.[65]

With this final wish, Rabinovich ensures a new memory space—one that will unite him with those readers whose spirit he sought to evoke through the markets and *shtetls* of his fiction, and, of course, in a more subtle way, with the landscape and objects conjured by the memory of Nikolai Gogol.

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[1] Gogol, *Taras Bulba*, Ch. 6, *Sobranie Sochinenii v Semi Tomakh* (T. II) (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, 1984), 106.
[2] Solomon Rabinovich (Sholem Aleichem), *Inside Kasrilevke*, trans. Isidore Goldstick (New York: Schocken books, 1965), 7.
[3] Bakhtin, Mikhail, "Rabelais and Gogol," trans. Michael OToole, in *Australian Journal of Cultural Studies*, no. 3 (1985), 28.
[4] Bakhtin, *Rabelais and Gogol*, 35.
[5] Joseph Sherman, in his insightful reading of Gogol's "The Overcoat" and Rabinovich's "On Account of a Hat" has called attention to the deep differences in the two writers,

"since the world each of them displayed … though superficially similar, was nevertheless fundamentally distinct." While the differences between Rabinovich's Jewish milieu and Gogol's Russian world are extremely important to keep in mind, it is worth probing the kinship Rabinovich perceived, with an awareness of the many fundamental cultural differences. See Joseph Sherman, "The Non-Reflecting Mirror: Gogol's Influence on Sholem Aleichem" in *Essays in Poetics: The Journal of the British Neo-Formalist Circle* 28 (Autumn 2003): 101-123, 102. See also "God and the Tsar": Ironic Ambiguity and Restorative Laughter in Gogol's "Overcoat" and Sholem Aleichem's "On Account of a Hat" [*Iber a Hitl*] in *The Waking Sphinx: South African Essays on Russian Culture*, ed. Henrietta Mondry (Johannesburg: The Library University of the Witwatersrand, 1989), 59-82.

[6] Roskies, *A Bridge of Longing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 154.

[7] It is therefore particularly important that we distinguish between Gogol's descriptions of commerce and festivity from the Rabelaisan overturn that became the basis for Bakhtin's analysis. As Stallybrass and White have pointed out, "Partly because he associated it with the utopian, the 'no-place of collective hopes and desires,' Bakhtin simplified the paradoxical, contradictory space of the market and the fair as a place-beyond-place, a pure outside." Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 28.

[8] Nikolai Vasilevich Gogol, "Sorochinskaia iarmarka," *Polnoe Sobranie sochinenii i pisem*, Volume I (Moskva: Nasledie, 2001), 75. Translation based on Nikolai Vasilevich Gogol, *Village Evenings near Dikanka and Mirgorod*. Translated and edited by Christopher English (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 9.

[9] This includes writers in Russian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish. Edyta M. Bojanowska has discussed the influence of *Taras Bulba* on Ukrainian literature, including Panteleimon Kulish's 1847 *Black Council*, in which "Kulish claims that Gogol and his Cossack epic inspired the Ukrainians to study their past and aim for national self-knowledge." See Bojanovska, *Nikolai Gogol: Between Ukrainian and Russian Nationalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 308-9. The Hebrew and Yiddish language writer Sholem Abramovich (Mendele Moykher-Sforim) uses many of the commercial spaces in Ukraine for his wandering narrator. See Harriet Murav "Gogol, Abramovitsh, and the Question of National Literature" in *Essays in Poetics* 28 (Autumn 2003,): 124. In the twentieth century, Isaac Babel would re-map Gogolian landscapes in *Konarmiia*.

[10] Rabinovich, *Funem Yarid* (Vilne-Varshe: Vilner Farlag fun B. Kletskin, 1926), 16. The work remained incomplete when the author died in 1916.

[11] The idea that material objects and the space that houses them could inspire the recollection of episodes in one's life reflects Bergson's notion that "Memory, inseparable in practice from perception, imports the past into the present, contracts into a single intuition many moments of duration, and thus by a twofold operation compels us, *de facto*, to perceive matter in ourselves, whereas we, *de jure*, perceive matter within matter." Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2004), 80.

[12] Ken Frieden, *Classic Yiddish Fiction: Abramovitsh, Rabinovich, & Peretz* (Albany: State University of New York, 1995), 98-101.

[13] Gogol, *PSS*, V. I: 80.

[14] "Mysli o geografii (dlia detei) was written in 1829, published in 1831. Gogol, *SS* V. 1. (St. Petersburg: 1998), 135. Gogol purportedly said that for any story to be successful the author had simply to describe a familiar room and street. Boris Eichenbaum, "How 'The Overcoat' is Made" in *Gogol from the Twentieth Century: Eleven Essays*, trans. and ed. Robert Maguire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 270. Eichenbaum cites Anenkov's "N. V. Gogol' v Rime letom 1841 goda," in *Literaturnye vospominaniya* (Moscow, 1960), 77.
[15] Robert Maguire, *Exploring Gogol* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 285.
[16] As Yurii Mann has shown, Dikanka was the ideal setting for the stories, given its vague surrounding of farms and villages. See Mann, *Gogol': Trudy i Dni, 1809-1845* (Moscow: Aspekt-Press, 2004), 30.
[17] Maguire, *Exploring Gogol*, 78.
[18] Of this passage, Dmitry Merezhkovsky writes, "European enlightenment only makes the Russian gentleman even more aware of the age-old gulf that separates him as an 'enlightened citizen' from the ignorant common folk." "Gogol and the Devil" in *Gogol From the Twentieth Century: Eleven Essays*, ed. Robert Maguire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 83.
[19] Gogol, *SS* (T. III), 78.
[20] Petersburg, with its linear shape and penetrable West-facing window, is more dangerous than Sorochintsy. As Robert Maguire observes, "[Petersburg] was not Russian…but having no real form, it could spread all the more easily to any corner of the country." Maguire, 80.
[21] Gogol, *PSS*, V. I: 80.
[22] Henri Bergson, *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic* (New York: Cosimo, 2005), 29. Elsewhere in his study of laughter, Bergson cites a passage from Gogol's *Revizor*: "Your peculations are too extensive for an official of your rank."
[23] Yurii Mann, *Postigaia Gogolia* (Moscow: Aspect Press, 2005), 123.
[24] Mann, *Postigaia Gogolia*, 124.
[25] David Roskies, *The Jewish Search for a Usable Past*, 12.
[26] I differ from authors like Heschel Klepfisz, who claims, "It is not possible to really understand and empathize with Tevyeh the Dairyman unless one has at least some knowledge of Ukrainian Jewish history." Rather, by bringing Ukrainian Jews, within his fiction, into ever larger, cosmopolitan spheres, Rabinovich is allowing his descriptions of Ukrainian *shtetl* life to stand in for a universal experience of Jewish life. Heschel Klepfisz, *Inexhaustible Wellspring: Reaping the Rewards of Shtetl Life* (Jerusalem: Devora, 2003), 209.
[27] Rabinovich, *Sholem Aleykhem Ale Verk: ibergearbeyt un rekht oysgebesert un dos ershte mol aroysgegebn* V. I (Warsaw: "Folksbildung," 1903), 663-4. Translation of "The penknife" in *Some Laughter, Some Tears: Tales from the Old World and the New* (trans. from the Yiddish by Curt Leviant) (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968), 116.
[28] Rabinovich, "The Penknife" (Leviant trans.), 125.
[29] Rabinovich, "The Penknife" (Leviant trans.), 113.
[30] The stolen penknife replaces a lost knife that had been bought for ten kopecks ("seven kopecks cash, three on credit." Rabinovich (Leviant trans.), 114.

[31] Rabinovich, *Menakhem-Mendl* (Buenos Aires: Ateneo Literario En El IWO, 1972), 34. Translation consults Hillel Halkin, *The Letters of Menakhem-Mendl and Sheyne-Sheyndl; and Motl, the Cantor's Son* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 3.
[32] Rabinovich, *Finf un zibetsik toyznt: a pekl tsoris* (Moscow: Der Emes, 1947); Joachim Neugroschel, trans. "Seventy-Five Thousand (A pack of Tsoris)" in *No Star Too Beautiful: Yiddish Stories from 1382 to the Present* (New York: Norton, 2002), 364.
[33] The devil promises to return in a year's time, but the Jew cannot help but sell the coat to a passing gentleman, for "the cloth was better than anything you could get even in Mirgorod!" Gogol, *PSS*, V. 1, 88.
[34] Bakhtin, "Rabelais and Gogol," (O'Toole trans.), 38.
[35] George G. Grabowicz, "The Jewish Theme in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Ukrainian Literature" in *Ukrainian-Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective* (Second Edition), Howard Aster and Peter Potichnyj, ed. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U. of Alberta, 1990), 331.
[36] It is worth noting that Kotliarevsky, particularly in his description of sinful merchants, who we learn are baking [peklisia] in Hell, evidently draws from Rabelais: "His high devilship sups very well on tradesmen, usurers, apothecaries, cheats, coiners, and adulterers of wares. Now and then, when he is on the merry pin, his second supper is of serving-wenches who, after they have by stealth soaked their faces with their master's good liquor, fill up the vessel with it at second hand, or with other stinking water. Rabelais, Chapter 4.XLVI, "How a Junior Devil was fooled by a husbandman of Pope-Figland." Gargantua and Pantagruel. Translated into English by Sir Thomas Urquehart of Cromarty and Peter Antony Motteux. (First edition, 1653).
[37] Ivan Kotliarevsky, *Tvory u Dvokh Tomakh*, V. I (Kyiv: "Dnipro," 1969), 119.
[38] I agree with Ronald LeBlanc's assertion that "Belinsky's sweeping claim that Gogol 'had no model or precursors' is…greatly exaggerated." (LeBlanc, 109).
[39] Mykola Zerov, *Nove ukrains'ke pysmenstvo* (Kyiv: Slovo, 1924). Zerov credits S. Efremov with developing this term in his *Istoriia ukrains'koho pys'menstva* (Kyiv, 1911). Ostap Stomecky has dealt with Kotliarevsky's influence on Gogol in detail. See Stromecky, *Gogol* (Lviv: Lviv University Press, 1994).
[40] Gogol, *PSS*, T. 1: 89.
[41] Gogol, *SS* T. I: 32.
[42] Gogol, *SS* T. I: 32. Kotliarevskii, *Eneida*, 111. Note that in his citation Gogol omits the subject: Einei (Aeneas).
[43] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Epic and Novel" in Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson, tr., *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 35.
[44] Nikolai Gnedich would publish his translation of *The Iliad* into Russian in St. Petersburg, a feat admired by many, particularly Pushkin, in 1829, the same year in which Gogol began writing his *Dikanka* stories.
[45] Gogol, *Taras Bulba* in *Sobranie sochinenii*, T. 2: 247.
[46] Nikolai Gogol, *The Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*, trans. Andrew R. Macandrew (New York: Signet Classics, 1961), 135-6.

[47] This portrayal of Yankel as a cultural anachronism can be read in light of Hegel's notion of the obsolete stages of human development. The Jews, representing an obsolete culture and language, are no longer fully participatory in the Hegelian "world historical nations," or, in this case, in the Pan-Slavic Russian Empire. For a complication of Hegel's nationalist hierarchy, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).
[48] Nikolai Gogol, "Taras Bul'ba" (redaktsiia 1835) in *Taras Bul'ba*, ed. E. I. Prokhorov and N. L. Stepanov (Moscow: Adakemii Nauk SSSR, 1963), 124.
[49] Gogol, "Taras Bul'ba" (1842) in ed. Prokhorov and Stepanov, 53.
[50] Stephen Moeller-Sally*, Gogol's Afterlife: The Evolution of a Classic in Imperial and Soviet Russia* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2002), 87-95.
[51] Ken Frieden, *Classic Yiddish Fiction: Abramovich, Sholem Aleichem*, *Peretz* (New York: SUNY Press, 1995), 103.
[52] S. Y. Abramovich, *Tales of Mendele the Book Peddler: Fishke the Lame and Benjamin the Third*, ed. Dan Miron and Ken Frieden, trans. Ted Gorelick and Hillel Halkin (New York: Schocken Books, 1996), 5.
[53] Dan Miron discusses this Yiddish storytelling device in detail in his *A Traveler Disguised: The Rise of Modern Yiddish Fiction in the Nineteenth Century* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996).
[54] Cited in Miron, *Traveler*, 28.
[55] Cited in Miron *Traveler*, 28.
[56] Miron writes, for example, of *From the Fair*, "Indeed, no one could imagine [Rabinovich's] town as having a church, a priest, a church warden, or any other vestige of organized Christianity." Dan Miron, *The Image of the Shtetl and Other Studies of Modern Jewish Literary Imagination* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 2.
[57] Dan Miron, *Image*, 157-178, 166.
[58] Only upon meeting Menachem-Mendl in other story-cycles do we realize how undependable our *luftmensch* really is. "Tevye Blows a Small Fortune," centres on an unfortunate event in which the gullible Tevye gives his distant cousin (by marriage) Menachem-Mendl a large sum of money to invest. Rabinovich, *Gants Tevye der Milkhiger* (New York: Sholem Aleykhem Folksfond Oysgabe, 1927, c1918).
[59] Mikhail Bakhtin, "*K voprosam ob istoricheskoi traditsii i o narodnykh istochnikakh gogolevkogo smekha*," in *Sobraniie Sochinenii*, T. 5 (Moscow: Russkie slovari, 1997), 47.
[60] Shapiro, *Gogol and the Baroque*, 57. Cites Dmitri Merezhkovskii, *Gogol' i chort* (Moscow: Skorpion, 1906).
[61] Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, 235.
[62] Gogol, *PSS*, V. 1, 97-8. Translation based on Shapiro, 116.
[63] Gogol, *SS*, V. 5, 124. Translation: Pevear and Volokhonsky, *Dead Souls*, 135.
[64] Y. D. Berkovitsh, ed., *Dos Rabinovich Bukh: Oytobiografishe Farseykhenungen* (New York: YKUF, 1958), 188-9.
[65] Rabinovich, *The Three Great Classic Writers of Modern Yiddish Literature*, ed. and trans., Marvin Zuckerman and Marion Herbst (Malibu: Pangloss Press, 1994), 2:482.

The Image of "the Other" in World War II Memoirs of Lviv Citizens

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The Jewish-Polish-Ukrainian relationship during the very beginning of the Second World War—the year 1939—has been less studied and merits additional scrutiny. This article is based on broader research that was originally conducted for the *Lviv 1939-1941* exhibition presented in July 2010 in the Rynok (Market Square) adjacent to Lviv City Hall. The exhibition, financed by the Polish and Ukrainian Institutes of National Memory, was the result of joint work by Ukrainian and Polish historians.[1] The goal of the exhibition was to present the beginning of the Second World War from the perspective of the three largest ethnic groups that resided in Lviv at that time.

Even though numerous publications are devoted to this period, only a very limited number of them deal with ethnic relations during that time.[2] Certain aspects of inter-ethnic relations in 1939 are also mentioned in Ukrainian, American, and German publications. To expand our understanding of these complex relations, I would like to discuss here materials that had been left out of the exhibition—in particular those drawn from the Jewish Studies Center in Kyiv, the Emanuel Ringelblum Archives in Warsaw, and private collections. Other unusual sources include jokes, which shed light on aspects of life experienced during that time. Most of the jokes are drawn from published memoirs. All this material is evaluated against the background of contemporary interpretations of historical events—mostly Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian.

Three quotes relating to the pre-war period will help in understanding the most common image of the relations that existed in 1939 and the years following among the three major groups of Lviv residents. I deliberately focus on those well-known memoirs and fiction, which describe the multicultural atmosphere of tolerance in pre-war Lviv.[3] The authors of these works are people of extraordinary authority, who were almost compatriots: Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Lubomyr Husar (born in 1933); the legendary Polish opposition figure, Jacek Kuroń (1934-2004); and Leopold Unger (1922-2011), a journalist who emigrated after the anti-Semitic campaign in Poland in 1968 and later

imbibed the spirit of and wrote for the Parisian Polish monthly *Kultura*. The following are noteworthy quotes by these three personalities:

> Up until 1939, ethnic relations were difficult, influenced by the memory of the Ukrainian-Polish war [1918-19]. In the 1930s, all official contacts were frozen. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky sought understanding, but the policy-makers of the Polish state made it impossible.” (Metropolitan Lubomyr Husar's assessment of inter-ethnic relations in Lviv)
>
> The Polish-Ukrainian conflict was alive in pre-war Lviv. The war only strengthened it. I believe that what we lacked then—and what we lack today—is the understanding that Ukrainians and Poles lived, live and will continue to live in these lands that are their common homeland. This reality seems to me most important if one wants to gain understanding of our mutual roots and our enmity.” (Jacek Kuroń, in his book *Faith and Guilt*)
>
> I am a Jew, a Jew from Lviv, the city of three nations—Poles, Ukrainians and Jews (not counting Armenians, Karaites, Tatars and others); [the city] of three strivings, three philosophies, languages, and an endless number of conflicts. The city, due to these very confrontations and encounters of different cultures, became a fertile ground for the coming together of a variety of worldviews and opinions, which made Lviv a city of great achievements in culture and civilization.” (Leopold Unger, “My Berlin Kaddish” in *Gazeta Wyborcza*)

A Jewish refugee’s testimony, recorded on 20 November 1941, speaks darkly about the ethnic relations in the early period of the Second World War: “Ethnic relations in Ukraine can be described briefly as hot mutual hatred. Ukrainians hated Poles and Jews, Poles hated Ukrainians and Jews, who paid them back with the same feeling….How did each of these nations treat the Bolsheviks? In this, they were united: pretty much negative.” (Emanuel Ringelblum)

Yaroslav Hrytsak paints a similar picture in his essay “Lviv Passions”[4] but suggests a radical difference. He insists that the Poles and Ukrainians were united in their common conviction that it was the Jews who had collaborated most closely with the Bolshevik regime. In his research, Hrytsak cites reports from Lviv to the government-in-exile in London, in which such convictions are clearly reflected.[5] The historian emphasizes that the spread of this conviction played a

negative role during the German occupation of Lviv, when the Nazis destroyed the Jewish community. The real treatment of the Jews—first of all, of Jewish refugees—can be gauged from the following statement circulating among NKVD figures and Soviet party officials: “Under the camouflage of moving the Jews and people of other nationalities, Germans are sending in their own agents to spy and cause diversions.”[6] According to Jan Tomasz Gross, Jewish people suffered the same Sovietisation as all other ethnic groups.[7]

The picture gets more and more complicated the closer one looks at it or if one observes it from different points of view. Only then, despite certain stereotypes typical of every statement, the picture becomes ambiguous, as is seen in the above-mentioned citation. This article shows how the perspectives and understanding of the realities of the war differed, depending on the cultural identity of the source (as indicated by the authors of the memoirs or testimonies), and how these ethnic groups perceived or represented, and stereotyped, "the Other".

In analyzing the image of the “Other", one should also consider the circumstances under which a particular statement was made or a text was written. In particular, to whom was the statement directed for whom was the text written? For example, when evaluating a text designed for publication in the official Soviet press, one cannot dismiss the propaganda purposes that its author and editorial board pursued. A totally different motivation and sentiment would shape particular types of testimony, such as a denunciation or an interrogation protocol preserved in the NKVD archives.

Also of essential significance is group with which the author was identifying at the time of making the statement or writing the text. For instance, Ukrainian émigré authors tended to get caught up in a nationalistic discourse in which the role of the Poles was generally described in a very negative light.[8]

In turn, the image of "the Other" as presented in the Polish memoirs should also be considered with due regard to the circumstances in which they were written. A sanitized image surfaces, for instance, in the works of Stanislaw Wasylewski[9] or even in Stanislaw Lem’s *Wysoki zamek* (High Castle), published in Poland under censorship and a ban on discussing the so-called “Kresy" (the Polish name for eastern regions that is highly contested in contemporary Ukraine). The image that Wanda Wasilewska presents in her memoirs of 1939-44 absolutely supports the official Soviet propaganda line.[10] From an opposite perspective, authors who took part in the so-called “Kresy organizations” have tended to see a betrayal of the Polish state's interests in the actions of

representatives of ethnic minorities, especially Ukrainians and Jews, and to stress the crimes of the Ukrainian nationalists.

There is another example of filtering an image. When reading testimonies of the Jews who were deported or arrested by the Soviets, and who in 1942 tried to reach the Anders Army and thus leave the territory of the USSR, we see their extremely negative attitude to everything Soviet and a very positive attitude to everything Polish. [The “Anders Army,” commanded by General Władysław Anders, refers to Polish armed forces, consisting largely of prisoners of war released from Soviet camps, who were evacuated via Iran and eventually fought under British command in Italy.] This is seen in the questionnaires preserved in the Sikorski Institute and in the Hoover Institution and published in 2009 by Krzysztof Jasiewicz.[11] Their statements were filtered through their situation of urgent and extreme need and a dependence on the Polish military authorities. A different image emerges from the testimonies of those Jewish refugees who managed to cross the border and then found themselves under the German occupation (this is mostly taken from the memoirs in the Ringelblum Archives). Their relations with the Poles in those times were painted in dark colours, while their attitude to Soviet power was quite good—from reserved acceptance of it as a given, to enthusiasm for the opportunities that it afforded, especially opportunities for study and work, which finally, after many years, became available to Jewish youth.

Let us now look at the quotes that have been assembled to help us reconstruct a fuller picture of the spectrum of identities and mutual images (and negative interactions). I deliberately restrict these identities to represent only the intellectuals and the clergy, being well aware that among representatives of other social strata this image would have been somewhat different.

From among representatives of Soviet officials, I will look at the impressions of a journalist or a writer. Intellectuals who were under strong Soviet control show a different attitude to the intrusion of the Soviet Army. Consequently, their image of "the Other" is also different. The obstacles created by the Soviet presence made the local intellectuals and clergy perceive that power in a negative light. The attitude of Ukrainians, Jews of Polish culture, and Poles to one another was not much better. Jews and Ukrainians were united in accusing the Poles of superior and haughty attitudes in their treatment of others, while the Poles accused the Jews and Ukrainians of disloyalty to the Polish state and ingratiating themselves with the new power.

I have limited the choice of quotes to the sources' attitudes towards the war, the arrival of the Red Army, and the image of a Red Army soldier.

In the imagination of Polish and Ukrainian societies, the arrival of the Red Army and the establishment of Soviet power was perceived in stereotypes. Soviet propaganda proclaimed a liberation from oppression and used the metaphor of the "Golden September" in its description. To the Poles, these events were a shameful cooperation between two powerful states, a fourth division of Poland. These versions are the most common, and confrontations between Polish and Russian historiographies still exist today. Modern Ukrainian historiography has rejected the metaphor of the "Golden September" recently.[12] Meanwhile, the conviction still exists that the local population of the lands captured by the Red Army—in particular, the Belarusians, Ukrainians, and Jews—happily greeted its arrival. Polish historiography often emphasizes that ethnic minorities behaved disloyally to the Polish state during these events.

Today, Ukrainian historians in Lviv interpret the arrival of Soviet power in Lviv as the establishment of an occupation regime. They stress its criminal nature and close collaboration with the Nazis.[13] The truth cannot be hidden, however, as traces of propaganda from the past remain in the public discourse. An example relates to Valentyn Nalyvaichenko's blunder during the ceremony of the opening of the Lontsky Prison Museum in Lviv.[14]

The following are typical statements of two Polish researchers regarding the events of 1939-1941. According to a Polish underground officer: "Relations between the Poles and Ukrainians became even tenser than in September 1939. Their enmity was kindled by news flooding Lviv about anti-Polish demonstrations in various provinces and unconcealed satisfaction that Ukrainians showed with the breakdown of Poland. The behavior of Ukrainians showed signs of revenge for the grief they had allegedly suffered from Poland."[15] Grzegorz Hryciuk, who cited this source in his book, manifests a certain distance, mentioning that mutual enmity was born by news coming to Lviv.

Such a detached view is certainly missing in Krzysztof Jasiewicz's work. He writes: "It seems that the greatest shock to the Poles who lived in the Kresy, even greater than the unexpected appearance there of the Red Army, was the behaviour of the local Belarusians, Ukrainians and Jews, who enthusiastically greeted the occupiers and sometimes showed radical enmity to the Polish state and to the Poles. Jews often played the key role of *spiritus movens,* leaders, or a new 'elite' in these events." The researcher provides numerous testimonies of Poles, in particular: "The local population treated the rest of the population,

namely the Poles, with arrogance. They constantly launched mass raids and searches…it was mostly a criminal element." Jasiewicz devotes the rest of his book to Jewish testimonies, showing not even a trace of the alleged enthusiasm attributed to them. It is clearly important to take into consideration that these testimonies were answers to the Polish military's questionnaire, and that for their authors, getting to the Anders Army meant an opportunity to save their lives.

Let us consider another testimony—that of Yevhen Nakonechny, whose attitude to a Polish officer is filled with compassion. This is true both about the author and about his heroine, a Jewish girl who helped save the life of a Polish officer.[16] There are certainly various testimonies to prove or to disprove the idea of alleged massive support of ethnic minorities or examples of an extremely loyal attitude to the Polish state from leaders of ethnic communities. (We can cite the address by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, the speech of the Polish Sejm (Parliament) Vice Speaker, Vasyl Mudry, and the resolution of the Jewish community of Lviv published in the Polish-language Jewish newspaper *Chwila* (Wave).

It is important, however, to look at the elements in these stories that reflect the means used to create the image of the Jews as loyal to Soviet power. Jasiewicz provides specific details regarding the mechanism that led to the awakening of inter-ethnic enmity through propaganda. "The main argument of this propaganda was the equality that the Jews would enjoy in the Soviet Union in contrast to the alleged persecution they had experienced in Poland. Whole articles were written to describe the cruelties, tortures, sufferings and persecution that Jewish people had experienced in Poland. Detailed descriptions were given of slaughters and pogroms against Jews, organized mostly by Polish officers, generals and the Polish military command. They also wrote about how Jewish people were kicked out of moving trains, how drunk officers entertained themselves by shooting Jews in the streets, and so on. These stories were told to a correspondent of a Soviet newspaper, following which this person thanked them for liberation with tears in his eyes, expressing joy for the opportunity to live under the Soviet regime."

This testimony must be compared with other materials and documents. Let us begin with the leaflets signed by Marshal Semyon Timoshenko, which were dispersed from planes during the invasion of the Red Army, and which called on the workers and peasants of western Ukraine "to take any weapon they had, their scythes, pitchforks and axes to fight against their old enemies—the Polish lords". Another example is Lev Mekhlis's order to free soldiers of Ukrainian and Belarusian background from internment. Frequent shootings and reprisals were

normal military practice and it left a lasting impression.[17] These first official orders go hand in hand with no less official publications of the central Soviet press describing, in particular, the life of Ukrainians in Poland. Here are some headlines: "The Way They Lived" and "Ukrainian Population Doomed to Cultural Savagery." The purpose was to cause enmity and thus push people to actions that Marshal Timoshenko expected. Articles were written to describe the "joyful meeting of the Red Army as liberators," and to be more convincing, examples were given of how cruel "Poles burned Ukrainian villages, robbed their property, and killed their women and children as they retreated."[18]

Later, the central press was joined by the new local Soviet press: the Polish-language *Czerwony Sztandar* (Red Standard), the Ukrainian-language *Vilna Ukraina* (Free Ukraine), and Yiddish papers such as *Der Royter Stern* (Red Star). Their main goal was to present a negative depiction of Polish rule and the "old regime" and a positive depiction of the new power that was supposed to be adored by all except its enemies. While there has been research devoted to the Polish press under Soviet power in 1939-41, there is no in-depth research of the Soviet Ukrainian or Jewish press of that period.[19]

Let me add two more notes on the methods employed in the massive propaganda. In his diary, Stanislaw Czuruk makes an entry on 19 August 1940, practically recording preparations for the celebration of the first anniversary of "liberation": "An anti-Polish film (most probably Dovzhenko's *Liberation*)[20] is being shot in our street. It leaves a terrible, depressing feeling." In his *Travels Through Illusions*, Kurt Lewin wrote, "We were starved—and we were fed—up to our nose…with propaganda! (…) Like mushrooms after rain, different monuments appeared, some not without taste, made of alabaster, plywood and cloth. Add to this rallies during which tireless propagandists lectured us on what happy citizens of the Soviet country we are. Everything was propaganda—cinema, papers, books, theater. There was no escape from it."

Other criticisms of Soviet propaganda are to be found in the special services archives. For example, contrary to the official propaganda, Maksym Rylsky, one of the best known Soviet Ukrainian poets—who on the one hand was officially recognized (as a winner of the Stalin Prize) but on the other hand constantly under the watchful eye of the special services—could not understand Stalin's policy. Here is what he said: "I still fail to see weighty reasons that caused us to rush into Poland. This contradicts the humanity and justice that we always shout about so much. Every day I write poems to praise the valour of the Soviet troops and the wisdom of our policy-makers, but I sense no enthusiasm in my heart. We attacked the weak, and it

is very difficult for an honest poet to justify such an act."[21] Mykhailo Drahomanov's son, Svitozar, was even more vehement in his reaction. He insisted that the Soviet intrusion into Poland was akin to its fourth partition.[22]

Mykola Khvylovy's acquaintance, Arkadii Liubchenko, escaped destruction during the Great Terror by a sheer miracle. Even though several years later there were far fewer sympathizers during the German occupation of Lviv, in 1939, after the invasion of the Red Army and the victorious cries of the authors of propaganda articles, he said: "I'm really sorry for Poland. There existed a certain state, a certain people, and suddenly everything is ruined, almost as if by bandits. I do not like the fact that the USSR attacked such a weak country."[23] Despite his critical attitude to the occupation of the Polish territory, Liubchenko seems to partly believe the propaganda depicting Poland as a weak country that collapsed under the blow. However, he does imply that this blow is like a stab in the back.

The Image of a Soviet Soldier

The Soviet soldier is portrayed in the propaganda as a fearless and unselfish implementer of the people's revenge, who shook the hand of a Ukrainian peasant wearing a patched up robe. According to the order of the Soviet military command, the Red Army was to enter cities and towns joyfully, with the accompaniment of a harmonica and singing Ukrainian marches. Thus it is pictured in the *Liberation* movie. In contrast, here are some testimonies of Lviv residents:

> Polish perspective: "Soviet soldiers were thin, small, sad, looking needy, almost black with hunger, wearing poorly looking uniforms and poorly armed."[24]
> Jewish perspective: "The Red Army entered Lviv. My father and I stood in the street, looking at the entry of the Soviet soldiers. Among them were representatives of all nationalities that lived in the Soviet Union: Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tajiks, Bashkirs, Ukrainians…Father said we were captured by Asians.
> Ukrainian perspective: "The 'valiant' Red Army entered Lviv from Lychakiv. We timidly looked through the windows onto Horodetsky Street…The soldiers held rifles ready to shoot, directed at stone buildings…. Small tanks and cars moved. Some cars had Red Army soldiers and next to them—local teenagers, boasting red cockade hats." [26]

These examples show how far from the propaganda ideal was the image of the Red Army soldier. The above testimonies go hand in hand with the widely

spread rumours about how the Soviet soldiers were stupid and greedy for other people's possessions. In other words, they look more like grotesque farcical characters than soldiers of a victorious army. This is a way of getting back at those who have come out as the stronger power.

After regarding the descriptions of Red Army soldiers and the invasion of the Red Army in general, one cannot help but recognize that the old principle of "divide and rule" was perfected to the highest degree by the Soviet propaganda machine—to the point that it captured public opinion and has shaped the perspectives of many researchers even today.

As for some general observations and conclusions, the material we presented shows that the more dramatic the experience that the source/author had, the stronger was the tendency to describe their individual experience as dominating the particular ethnic group's narrative of heroes and martyrs. In such a narrative, the author's individual suffering acquires foremost prominence, while "the Other" is accused of causing all the sorrows—and who is designated "the Other" certainly depends on the identity of the author.

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[1] Authors: Oleh Pavlyshyn and Mariusz Zajączkowski. Authors of the idea and consultants—Yaroslav Hrytsak, Rafał Wnuk, and Ola Hnatiuk.

[2] Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939-1944. Życie codzienne* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 2000). In particular the fourth chapter of the book: "Postawy i nastroje ludności polskiej w latach 1939-1941" [Attitudes and moods of the Polish population in the years 1939-1944].

[3] Much has been written, particularly in memoirs and literature, about interwar Lviv. The recent work by George Grabowicz, Katarzyna Kotyńska, Christof Mick, and Yuri Prokhasko is especially important.

[4] During the first Soviet occupation (1939-1941) Ukrainians and Poles mutually suspected and accused each other of working with the Bolsheviks in order to destroy their "national enemy." They both agreed however that Jews were the most guilty of collaboration with the Soviets. The mood in the Jewish community was expressed in a "Jewish prayer" from the early months of 1941: 1) That those people [the Soviets] would leave, 2) That he [Hitler] would not come, 3) That we could remain here, 4) That those people [the Poles] would not return!

[5] In addition to dubious pre-war arguments justifying an aversion to the Jews, there were new accusations of disloyalty and even treason to the Polish state by the Jews due to their collaboration with the occupier and activities detrimental to Poles. Hostility to the

occupiers was expressed through anti-Semitism. Some materials of that period recorded the sad paradox that hatred of the Jews was practically "the only bridge of understanding between Poles and Ukrainians." "It is very great, even greater than that which both sides feel toward to the Bolsheviks, and only waiting for the moment to find an outlet...Through their actions they [the Jews] sign up as oppressors of the Polish nation in the Soviet annexation and in the future they will receive a reward, if not from the Poles, then from the Ukrainians." One of the reports sent to the Polish government-in-exile attempts to characterize Polish public opinion on the conduct of the Jewish population in 1939-1941. The report reveals perceptions of phenomena occurring during the Soviet occupation which are simplistic, superficial, and charged with negative stereotypes: "All these persecutions, which in the countryside were inspired by the Ukrainians, were led by Jews in the cities. I must admit that while the Ukrainians acted quite openly, the Jews worked efficiently and quietly, delivering all the actions into the hands of the NKVD. Although the Ukrainians delivered very heavy blows, they were accepted as something more natural and expected, and moreover the Ukrainians announced them…The Jews came unexpectedly, as a token of gratitude for that position occupied in the life of the Polish state and for defending and supporting them." Report from Lwów to the Polish émigré government, *Archiwum Zakładu Historii Ruchu Ludowego*, Materiały Stanisława Kota, sygn. 97, k. 76-77. Cited in Hryciuk, *Życie codzienne Lwowa*. Hryciuk presented this opinion as typical prejudice.

[6] Vladyslav Hrynevych, *Suspilno-politychni nastroi naselennia Ukrainy u druhoi svitovoi viiny* (Kyiv, 2008), 22.

[7] Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). See also a recently published volume of documents that to a large extent explains the intricacies. Maciej Siekierski and Feliks Tych edited the collection *Widziałem Anioła Śmierci. Losy deportowanych Żydów polskich w ZSRR w latach II wojny światowej. Świadectwa zebrane przez Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Rządu Polskiego na Uchodźstwie w latach 1942-1943* (Warsaw: Rosner & Partners, the Jewish Historical Institute, 2006 and Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, 2006). It comprises a total of 170 accounts from 169 authors. These are the so-called "Palestinian Protocols." They show that the Jewish population in the eastern borderlands of the Second Polish Republic was subject to repression by similar rules as the Christian population. The Communists focused on traditional elites, mainly the leadership of political and social organizations. Right-wingers naturally went into the fire first, especially anti-Communist Zionist-Revisionists of the New Zionist Organization (NSO) and its youth organization Betar. Religious leaders experienced persecution. For example, the chief rabbi of Warsaw, Professor Moses Schorr (1874-1941), was arrested. "Despite his venerable age he was tormented by unceasing interrogations and beaten." (p. 101).

[8] The rarest accounts, which today seem paradoxical, are those by Ukrainian residents of Lviv. Sources include: Larysa Krushelnytska, *Rubaly lis* (Lviv, 2001); Yevhen Nakonechny, *Shoa u Lvovi* (Lviv: Piramida, 2006); Roman Volchuk, *Spomyny z peredvoiennoho Lvova ta voiennoho Vidnia* (Kyiv, 2002); Myroslav Semchyshyn, *Z knyhy Leva. Ukrainskii Lviv dvadtsiatykh-sorokovykh rokiv: Spomyny* ed. Oleh Romaniv

(Lviv, 1998); and Ostap Tarnawsky, *Literaturnyi Lviv 1939-1944*. The memoirs of Yurii Shevelov and Arkadii Liubchenko also cover in part German-occupied Lviv.The published fragments of the memoirs of Petro Panch also elicit interest. We do not learn anything from the memoirs of Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky or from those of his sister Milena Rudnytska. This is especially striking as their mother was Jewish (both siblings lost their father at an early age) and remained in German-occupied Lviv for some time when Milena and Ivan were in Krakow in the General Gouvernement.

[9] Stanisław Wasylewski, *Pod kopułą lwowskiego Ossolineum* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1958), *Czterdzieści lat powodzenia* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959).

[10] "Wspomnienia Wandy Wasilewskiej" w: *Archiwum Ruchu Robotniczego*, t. 7. (Warsaw, 1982).

[11] Krzysztof Jasiewicz, *Rzeczywistość sowiecka 1939–1941 w świadectwach polskich Żydów* (Warszawa: Rytm, 2009), 195.

[12] Vladyslav Hrynevych, "Katynskyi rozstril ta ioho peredvistia: chy vzhe nastav chas 'perehornuty' tsi storinky istorii?" *Dzerkalo tyzhnia*, no. 15, 2010, specifically: "During the Soviet era myths were created about how the Soviet-Polish war in 1939 was a bloodless 'campaign of liberation,' an idyllic 'Golden September.' In reality however the Soviet invasion turned into a bloody nightmare for certain social and ethnic segments of the population of Western Ukraine (Eastern Poland)."

[13] See for example the conference "September 1939: Lviv and the Lviv Region Between Hitler's and Stalin's Totalitarianisms," organized in September 2009 with the participation of academics and historians from Ukraine and Poland.

[14] Security Service of Ukraine head Valentyn Nalyvaichenko during the opening ceremony of the "Prison on Lontskoho" on 28 June 2009 stated: "Government power changed successively on Ukrainian land. They were all united by their desire to remove anything Ukrainian and to dissolve the national identity of our people. No matter whether the 'Lontskoho' was controlled by the Polish police, or the German Gestapo, or the Soviet NKVD-KGB, its leading prisoners remained fighters for independence and members of the liberation movement." See http://www.cdvr.org.ua.

[15] Cited in Hryciuk from the archival material of Stanisław Kot.

[16] Nakonechny, *op.cit.,*18-19.

[17] See for example V. Hrynevych in *Dzerkalo tyzhnia*, no. 15, 2010. Prior to the Soviet invasion of Poland, anti-Polish sentiments were stoked at meetings in the Soviet army. They were masked under slogans proclaiming "class struggle" and the "liberation of brother-Ukrainians and Belarusians." Therefore it is not surprising that commanders, commissars, and regular Red Army troops at the start of military operations began to take on the role of "avengers for the suffering people" and "the punitive sword of justice." The consequences included the illegal executions of Poles throughout the September war in 1939.

[18] P. Dibrova, "Naselennia radisno zystrichaie chervonoarmiitsiv yak vyzvolyteliv" *Pravda*, 20 September 1939. Cited in Mykola Lytvyn and Kym Naumenko, *Lviv: mizh Hitlerom i Stalinom* (Lviv: Piramida, 2005), 55.

[19] Agnieszka Cieślikowa, *Prasa okupowanego Lwowa* (Warsaw: Neriton, 1997).

[20] Dovzhenko’s film long remained the standard treatment of the “liberation campaign” and is sometimes treated as a documentary. In reality the film was shot a year later with the participation of more or less convincing extras.

[21] *Arkhiv SBU,* f. 16, op. 32, spr. 54. Many thanks to Vladyslav Hrynevych for his help in searching for sources that reflect other than official attitudes to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and its consequences.

[22] Ibid., p. 53. Cited in: Vladyslav Hrynevych, *Suspilno-politychni nastroi naselennia Ukrainy v roky druhoi svitovoi viiny (1939-1945)* (Kyiv: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of Political and Ethno-National Studies, 2007), 106.

[23] Hrynevych, 127.

[24] Hryciuk: “żołnierze sowieccy byli niedożywieni, drobni, marni, smutni, wynędzniali, sczerniali - zda się - z głodu, wychudzeni, odziani w liche mundury, uzbrojeni w lichą broń.”

[25] Memoirs of Father Havryil Kostelnyk from 22 September 1939.

[26] This thesis fits the theory of Clifford Geertz (Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” 1964, cited in Burszta W., *Przegląd Polityczny*, 2010), 55. Geertz explains social conflicts through the concepts of psycho-sociology. In his view emotional stress is discharged through a projection of problems onto a symbolic enemy.

Ukrainian-Jewish Relations as Depicted in Narrative Accounts of Former Carpatho-Rusyn Jews in Israel

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The Jews of Carpatho-Rus', presently the western part of Ukraine, were largely decimated in the Holocaust as part of Hungarian Jewry. Until the Holocaust, and more specifically in the interwar period, they were a community of about 113,000, living in an area of around 100,000 square kilometers, which was divided into the four historic Austro-Hungarian counties of Marmaros, Ung, Ugocsa, and Bereg, by then under Czechoslovak rule. They lived in dozens of communities, varying from big cities like Munkács (Mukačevo, Mukachevo), Ungvár (Užhorod, Uzhhorod), and Beregszász (Berehovo), to small towns and villages. Most of them were Orthodox, mostly Hasidic; politically, a few thousands were Zionist; far fewer were Communist. A relatively high percentage of them were farmers and workers, much like their non-Jewish neighbours and conspicuously unlike the more typical image of *shtetl* Jews (Jelinek, *The Carpathian Diaspora*; Magocsi, *Jews in Transcarpathia*; Rothkirchen, "Deep-Rooted Yet Alien").

After the Holocaust, the few thousand Carpatho-Rusyn Jewish survivors rebuilt their lives mostly in Israel and the West, though some returned to, or remained, in the region. During the many decades afterwards, the survivors and others who left early on were busy creating new lives and generations. But then, for a variety of reasons beyond the scope of this essay (Rosen, "Personal Historical Narrative," 107-108), Israeli and American organisations of former Carpatho-Rusyn Jews joined forces throughout the 1990s to enable the study of their history and culture in Israeli universities. These efforts yielded two research projects. One was carried out at the Diaspora Research Institute (presently The Goldstein-Goren Center) at Tel Aviv University, and included Yeshayahu Jelinek's historical study and my own folkloristic study of modern Carpatho-Rusyn Jewish communities (Jelinek, *The Carpathian Diaspora*; Rosen, *There Once Was…*). The second, my project was built on the awareness created by the first and carried out at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University. In this project I offered a close reading of the accounts of Holocaust survivors from Carpatho-Rus' (Rosen, *In Auschwitz We Blew the Shofar*).

My work likewise yielded a collection of around five hundred narratives belonging to various genres, mainly legends and personal narratives, dealing with many themes related to the narrators' interwar life in the region. This entire collection is presently stored and available at both the Tel Aviv University Diaspora Research Center and IFA, the Dov Noy Israeli Folktale Archives at Haifa University. Select narratives from this collection were published in my book, *There once was…*, under the following headings: Jewish life in Carpatho-Rus', livelihood and Torah learning, Hasidism versus Zionism, generations or the life cycle, man and woman, wonder tales, Jews and gentiles, and the Holocaust.

In coming to trace the nature of narration, to paraphrase Homi Bhabha's notion (Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration*), of the relations between Jews and Ruthenians, or for that matter with all other groups in the region, the following picture emerges. To judge by their narratives, the Jews of Carpatho-Rus' were more pre-occupied with their own inner life, communities, hardships, and conflicts than with external realities. Although, as Annamaria Orla-Bukowska points out regarding the nearby Polish-Jewish *shtetl*, both or all sides were well aware of the existence and difference of others around them, with whom they maintained routine mutual neighbourly and business relations, precisely because all sides knew they belonged to different communities (Orla-Bukowska, "Maintaining Borders"). If and when referring to others, the Jews, or presently mostly Israelis, made clear distinctions between three nationalities: Hungarians, Czechs (meaning either Czechs or Slovaks, because they were referring to the Czechoslovak interwar era), and Ruthenians or Ukrainians, without going into specific details in most cases. Thus, until I read materials by and about the Gentile people of this region, never did I come across the mention of specific group names such as Lemko, Lazi, or the Rusyns of Slovakia (Hann, "Peripheral Populations"). Similarly, in these materials, references to the Jews of the (Rusinko, *Straddling Borders*, 199).

Considering the region's three main groups, Hungarians (as well as Hungarian identity and culture in a wide sense) capture much attention in the memory and narrative of Jews from Carpatho-Rus', so much so that the Habsburg emperor's name was Yiddishized affectionately to Froym-Yosl. People stressed the service and often the handicaps of their fathers or uncles in the Hungarian army in the First World War, and—to tell a long and painful history in one paraphrased sentence—"the new Hungarians (meaning the Fascist state to whom the area was re-ceded in the Second World War) were much different from the old Hungarians" (meaning the Austro-Hungarian Empire). These and similar

evaluations relate to both official and personal encounters and, for good or bad, they populate most of the narrative and discourse of the region's former Jews. Or, to use psychoanalytic parlance, the Hungarian issue is an area of passion, or "frisson" as Saul Friedländer has it in *Reflections on Nazism* (18-19) for all former Austro-Hungarian Jews (Szalai, "Will the Past Protect Hungarian Jewry"), Carpatho-Rusyn Jews included. This may reflect a quantitative bias related to the large number of Jews who lived in Hungarian-culture environments, or of those Jews in both of my research projects, or both.

The Czechs were experienced mainly as government officials, teachers, managers, and other post holders, and not so much as everyday life neighbours. They were often depicted as progressive, humane, and formal, but somewhat naive compared to the typical local villager of whichever nationality. This is illustrated by an amusing narrative I analyze in an essay about the notions of exile and homeland in the oral lore of the region's Jews (Rosen, "Exile, Homeland, and Milieu").

As for Ruthenians, first of all only a few people called them Ukrainians, except when referring to the Ukrainian nationalist rule of the region, which lasted for a few months in 1938 (Jelinek, *The Carpathian Diaspora*, 218-220 in the Hebrew edition), and which, as Jelinek points out, was as hostile to Jews as to the local Hungarians. Otherwise, they are referred to as locals, villagers, Ruthenians, Orthodox, or even Christian *haredim* (Hebrew), meaning ultra-Orthodox people just like their Jewish counterparts. The obvious point that all this is completely one-sided has to be stressed or de-familiarized, and with it the realization that these are depictions of a life that ended disastrously some fifty years before the the narration. To add to the ambiguity, in quite a few cases the exact national or ethnic identity of the Gentile Other is not even specified, which supports the view of the region's Jews as living inwardly. Perceptions of Ruthenians can therefore only be hypothetically inferred on the basis of details such as the specific place of the narrated event, the narrator's overall life history, and the sustained focuses in his or her narrative/narration. Looking, therefore, first at some narratives about unspecified others that *could be* Ruthenian, we might see that they deal with religious differences. These narratives and narrators dwell on their senses of curiosity, fear, and a curious mélange of attraction and repulsion towards the Other's habit, in a broad sense (see: Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*; de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*).

For example, Itzhak Arnon of Kaszony/Kosyno, interviewed in Haifa in 1995, had the following recollection of the interwar period: "There was one night in which you could fear violence by the gentiles. On Christmas night they had a custom called Bet-Lehem. Now what was this Bet-Lehem? They built a miniature house representing the home of Jesus the baby, with straw and all in it. And they would go from house to house to act it out. This was just like the *purim shpil*, in which Jews acted out the story of the *megillah* [*The Book of Esther*]. In return, they received a few coins. Now the gentile *shkutzim* [Yiddish derogatory term for non-Jewish hoodlums] saw it as their duty to knock on the windows of Jews and possibly break a few. We dared not go out on this night" (Rosen, *There Once Was…*, "Appendix," 240; IFA serial number 23216; the English translation of all narratives in this essay is by I. Rosen). In this narrative, the narrator mitigates the sense of antagonism and menace by equating the two religious plays, and by the adverb "possibly," which likewise discloses his ironic stance. But the bottom line is that all this does not diminish the long lasting sense of fear felt by local Jews at Christmas time.

Just as pertinent to religious differences and perspectives, Moshe Noyman of Ungvár (Užhorod, Uzhhorod), interviewed in Givatayim, Israel in 1995, recalls (***fig. 1***): "In our street there were non-kosher butcheries. I didn't want to inhale their odour, so I crossed the street, to avoid smelling pork. But further down the street there was a cross, on a house, so I had to spit three times. But I did it when the gentiles didn't look." (IFA 23642). Here the senses of smell, taste, sight, and contact are all evoked to transmit the complexity of an otherwise everyday life experience of walking through the neighbourhood and encountering the habit(us) of the Other (de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*; Orla-Bukowska, "Maintaining Borders"). The senses become both detectors and defen-ders, or aggressors, of both sides.

Fig. 1. *Moshe Noyman*

Viewing Jewish Carpatho-Rusyn life

through (the senses of) this narrative makes it a daily obstacle race, somewhat as in the narrative about the Jewish man who crosses real political borders on his way to work and back daily (Rosen, "Exile, Homeland").

Fig. 2. *Sarah Udi*

To balance the sense of mutual self-segregation, Christian aggression, and Jewish hatred and fear, Sarah Udi, of Munkács (Mukačevo, Mukachevo), I interviewed in Kfar Sava, Israel in 1995 (***fig. 2***), recalls a school incident that teaches a lesson in tolerance: “On Passover I brought to school *matzah* [Passover bread made of unleavened dough] with a boiled egg. One gentile boy, probably repeating what he had heard at home, said it was made with gentile blood. Our teacher, a nun, said nothing to the boy. Instead she sat down next to me and asked if she could have some. I said, of course. She was very smart, did not make a fuss and yet showed the class that the accusation was wrong. Only later did I understand the meaning of it all, and I shall never forget it” (IFA 23685). In this narrative, the teacher wisely refrains from engaging in the age-old accusations or defences of Jews and their Passover ritual. Instead of words she turns to deeds, thus exemplifying her own—and by extension, the Christian religion's—disbelief in and disregard for this discourse. Agan aside, because this is after all a classroom exchange, she also teaches and reinforces the values of generosity, politeness, and curiosity and caring about the Other's life. This is of significance as it is evident from the previous two narratives in which alienation, aggression, and fear often derive from ignorance and lack of respectful communication between the two sides.

At times, these charged and age-old encounters were treated with humour. For example, Zeev Kest of Vilkhovytsia, interviewed in Givatayim in 1995 (***fig. 3***), said: “My father used to say that Jews suffer both in this world and the next. In this world the Jew is beaten for being a Jew, and in the next for having lived like a *goy* [a Gentile, here meaning not keeping *mitzvot*, the Jewish

Fig. 3. *Zeev Kest*

religious dictates]" (File Kest, no. 1, the Tel Aviv University Archives). Arye Amikam of Ungvár (Užhorod, Uzhhorod), interviewed in Haifa in 1995 (***fig. 4***), had this anecdote: "The gentile maid goes home and they ask her: tell us, what are these Jews like? So she answers, well, they are very strange. They have a holiday in which they eat by the table and smoke in the bathroom, that is *shabbat*. They have a holiday in which they eat and smoke by the table, that is *simhat Torah*, and they have a holiday in which they eat and smoke in the bathroom, that is *yom kippur*, the Day of Atonement" (IFA 23879). Related to the previous humorous anecdote, and seen as if through the eyes of the Gentile home servant, this joke is subversive in that it says that non-observant—or fake observant—Jews make of their breach a reverse ethos or "religion." Jews come out as pretending and hypocritical in this anecdote and Gentiles as naively viewing Jews as "pious" in any case, because whatever they do, they still "observe the rule" of committing the forbidden clandes-tinely.

Focusing on Ruthenians, two very telling narratives told by two central figures in the Israeli community of former Carpathian Jews add specifically to the portrayal of the relations between Jews and their Rusyn or Ruthenian neighbours. The first was already analyzed with differing focuses in two of my essays (Rosen, "Exile, Homeland, and Milieu," 6; Rosen, "A Literary-Cultural Reading", 60-61),

Fig. 4. *Arye Amikam*

Fig. 4. *Yosef Ami and Ilana Rosen*

and shall therefore be dealt with here only briefly. It was told in 1995 by Yosef Ami, of Munkács (Mukačevo, Mukachevo) and Haifa, one of the leaders of the World Union of Former Carpatho-Rusyn Jews and Students of the Hebrew Gymnasia (***fig. 5***, with Ilana Rosen):

> In our farm we already had third-generation Ruthenians families living with us. They all spoke Yiddish. I learned the first Hebrew [prayer] words in my life from my Ruthenians nanny, a *shikse* [partly affectionate partly derogatory Yiddish appellation for a gentile female, related to *shekets* or (pl.) *shkutzim*]. She took care of me. They worked as nannies, as cooks. We had this saying: Our *shikse* is as knowledgeable as your rabbi [in Jewish practical dictates]. That was because she was so deeply rooted in our life, that she became knowledgeable, and she had a say. Young Jewish brides who came to be tested for their competence in kosher cooking were sent to the *shikse*. She would say, 'Let's see how you salt the meat' [in the process of draining it of any remaining blood, according to the dictates of kosher-ness, or *kashrut*]. She took her to the cellar for the salting. When they came up, the *shikse* would often say, Ah, the *goya* [feminine form in Hebrew of gentile, *goy*, here meaning ignorant of Jewish religious law], she doesn't know a thing. This nanny who brought me up had a fixed routine of putting me to bed. She would say, in Yiddish, Now wash your hands, kiss the *mezuzah* [the parchment scroll affixed to the doorpost of rooms in the Jewish home], recite your bedtime prayer, kiss your Mom and Dad, piss,

> and go to bed [Yiddish: *vashen, mezuza kushn, krias-shma leynen, mame tate kushn, pishn, geyn shlofn*]. They actually lived with us, were paid with products of the farm, and were an integral part of our life. Most of them spoke Yiddish. If she was angry with me, she would scold me by saying: You are worse than a *sheigetz* [male counterpart of *shikse*, with the additional connotation of unrestrained, which is inappropriate to an educated Jewish youth]. They knew all our curses, prayers, customs, rules of *kashrut*, everything. The mother of the *shikse* who nursed me, she nursed my mother. We even had a third generation. My grandfather, all my family, had gentile friends. I played with them near the farm, I didn't even have any Jewish friends. (IFA 23208; Rosen, "Exile, Homeland, and Milieu," 6; Rosen, "A Literary-Cultural Reading", 60-61).

The other narrative was told in 1995 by Baruch Tsachor from Trebu-shany/Dilove, living in a Israel village near Kfar Sava (***fig. 6***), who was a sculptor and gifted story-teller:

Fig. 6. *Baruch Tsachor*

> On Passover you had to get rid of all your *hametz* [leavened bread stuff]. Everyone would sell it to a gentile neighbour. You make a bill-of-sale, both sides sign it, and after the holiday you tear it apart, cancel the deal, and get your stuff back. You didn't even remove it from your house, only covered and kept it in a corner. Now my father, he took it all humorously, so before Passover he would find a neighbour and offer him to 'take part in the jokes of the Jews', and they did it year after year. Once my father offered this deal to a Christian Pravoslav neighbour woman. They had special cloths and they were very observant in the Christian religion, like our *haredim*. And they did it, made the deal. After the holiday, she came to cancel the deal, as they agreed. But she was crying, handkerchief in hand and

> moaning, oy, oy, what happened to me. My father asks: What happened? She says, crying, our cow just had a new calf, and this calf got sick and died. So? So she explains that now she needs her money back, the money with which she bought the leavened stuff, because now she has trouble because the calf died. Only now did my father understand that this woman took the Jewish religious dictate more seriously than he did. She truly believed that she needed a reason or excuse to cancel the deal, when in fact it could be done just like that. Wow, my father really liked that. And my older brother said, next year I shall not miss it. Sure enough, the next year my father again made a deal with this woman. We were curious about her story that year. After the holiday, she come in crying, moaning, holding her white handkerchief. She says her husband rode a carriage full of straw. The carriage turned over and her husband fell and broke his leg. So now, again, she had to cancel the deal, she needs her money back. After that, my father said, I wonder what comes first, the Messiah or the end of this woman's stories (IFA 23771; Rosen, *There Once Was…*, "Appendix", 211).

The first excerpt, which is more of a para-ethnographic description than a narrative, describes a seemingly harmonious though entirely one-sided portrait of the shared life of well-to-do Jews and their Ruthenian employees from the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the Holocaust. The child-narrator's devoted governess is a Gentile woman, or *shikse*, in Jewish jargon. The Gentile nanny speaks Yiddish and knows Jewish customs and prayers by rote. She teaches and initiates the child in her care from infancy until about the age of three, when he begins his formal Jewish education; and her worst words of scolding are that he is "worse than a Gentile" [Yiddish: *erger vi a sheigetz*]. In the wider Jewish family circle, she may function as tester of prospective brides. As to her own wider circle, this woman and her family have lived, for generations, off the farm run by their Jewish employers and they are seen as "an integral part of [the Jewish family's] life."

This nanny figure greatly resembles her counterpart in many novellas of the Israeli writer Aharon Appelfeld, who spent his early childhood just before the Holocaust in a neighbouring urban community (Rosen, "A Literary-Cultural reading"). In Appelfeld's novellas, the nanny figure seems to have internalized the values of her Jewish employers, and in the novellas she even loses her original Christian identity in the process, which causes catastrophe (Appelfeld, *Katerina*; Appelfeld, *The Conversion*). In folk narrative and discourse, by contrast, she manages to preserve both parts of her identity. At any rate, the Jewish folk narrator

is more cognizant of the nanny's familiarity with Jewish customs than of the nanny's own religious orientation, family ties, or life in general.

In the second excerpt, which is a fully fledged narrative illustrating its narrator's style and central themes, we likewise have the viewpoint of a child, who merely observed and now reports what he saw and heard decades earlier. This narrative focuses on the Passover holiday, which occupies much space, attention, and anxiety in Jewish folk narrative. The IFA has over four hundred Passover stories, much more than any other holiday. This stress—in both meanings, of focus and of pressure—derives from both the strict ritual demands of Passover, which entail seclusion for the sake of purity, or *kashrut* (not to mention the financial burden), as well as fear of the Gentile environment's response to the Jewish seclusion. This response, as seen in Sarah Udi's short school incident, could easily turn into a blood-libel (Dundes, ed., *The Blood Libel Legend*). Therefore, it may well be that the narrator's father treats all this humorously by way of making light the heaviness of all that otherwise goes with Passover, though it may be that he simply was not that observant. At any rate, as opposed to Baruch's father, his Christian Orthodox neighbour woman *davka* takes the Jewish holiday and the business transaction it dictates very seriously. Just like the *shikse* in Yosef Ami's description and Appelfeld's novellas, she too acts as more Jewish—meaning more earnestly and keenly observant—than her Jewish neighbour. Her seriousness or devotion is expressed by her crying and moaning, whereas the light attitude of the narrator's father comes through by his calling it all "the jokes of the Jews" and by his joking remark on the Messiah.

Notwithstanding all this, it is quite very clear who really has a hold over the Jewish ethos and habitus in both excerpts, as in the shorter ones, though less emphatically in the humorous ones. This comes through by the thick use of ingroup terminology, at times technically and informatively, at times to mark boundaries, at times to mock or look down upon the Christian Other. Hence? One encounters the appellations *goy*, *goya*, *shikse*, *sheigetz*, and *shkutzim*; references to holidays and food-ways such as *hametz*, *kashrut*, and meat salting; and the minute detailing of routine yet strict Jewish practices such as *mezuza kushn* and *kriat-shma leynen*. All these mark implicitly borders that the narratives partly leave open explicitly. Lastly, it may be that recalling these matters decades later in an all Israeli setting may have strengthened the sense of deliberate segregation on the part of this stance is fairly common Jewish narrators.

In my corpus of about five hundred narratives told by former Carpatho-Rusyn Jews and presently old-timer Israelis, narratives about Rusyns or Ruthenians are scarce but telling. In these narratives, the non-Jews are portrayed, much like in Appelfeld's work, as rural, traditional, religious or faithful in ways that make their Jewish neighbours see them as almost—if not more—Jewish, or as earnest partners

in their own efforts to fulfil *mitzvot*, the Jewish dictates. That the basic Christian identity of these people is at least partly erased in the process is probably an outcome of the one-sidedness of these accounts and the remoteness of this entire world from its present possible audiences. To balance this perspective, once a year, around the Holocaust Memorial day in April, various Israeli television channels broadcast documentary programs, feature films, and other images and representations of the past places of destroyed Jewish communities, and thus enable a glimpse at their inhabitants. An example of this is ***fig. 7***, of Tova Noyman of Natanya Israel visiting her past hometown of Rus'ka Mokra and meeting an old school mate. There—among or through these images—one might see Yosef's *shikse* or Baruch's Orthodox "*haredit*" neighbour woman and realize that, as in the title of Livia Rothkirchen's well known essay about Carpatho-Rusyn Jews. And as in Yosef Ami's wording, these people also were "deep(ly)-rooted yet alien" to Jews and Judaism, and so they shall remain in the memory and narrative of their former Jewish neighbours.

Fig. 7. *Tova Noyman visiting Rus'ka Mokra and meeting a past school mate.*

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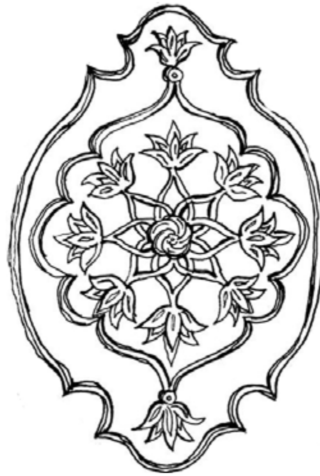
PART 5

THE STUDY, PRESERVATION, COMMEMORATION, AND REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN THE UKRAINIAN-JEWISH CULTURAL HERITAGE



Departure and Comeback: Ethnographic Expeditions to Shtetls in Podolia and Volhynia in 1912/1914, 1988-93, and 2004–2008

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A collection of articles entitled *The History of Jews in Ukraine and Belorussia: Expeditions, Monuments, Finds* appeared in St. Petersburg in 1994.[1] This small, low budget volume was nonetheless very important for its authors as it concluded five seasons of expeditionary work (1988-93) and introduced materials, which its authors justifiably considered unique. The book also presented the first attempts to analyze these materials. I had the honour to act as one of the editors of the volume and author of the introductory article, entitled "Two Journeys along the Same Road."[2] The title underlined the obvious parallels between the renowned expeditions of S. An-sky in 1912-14 and the expeditions that we, young residents of Petersburg, started to undertake in the late 1980s along the same route.

The trips to Ukraine, which began as purely touristic adventures, gradually turned into a kind of experiment in cultivating the Jewish identity of the participants. With every passing year, these trips increasingly acquired the character of professional scholarly expeditions. As a matter of fact, the 1994 volume registered this transition. The seventeen years that have passed since the appearance of the volume offer an opportunity to review the expeditions of the early 1990s historically, as a distinct stage in the development of Jewish scholarship, as well as of the Jewish social movement in Russia at a particular historical juncture.

The first aspect that draws our attention is the constant comparison between the contemporary expeditions and the An-sky expeditions. I wrote, for instance, "It is known that the First World War prevented An-sky from realizing his plans. One can hope that our project will have better luck."[3] The formal similarities between the two research projects are obvious. Both started in Petersburg. Both focused on the same region in southwestern Ukraine. Both undoubtedly pursued not only scholarly but also social objectives.

The last-mentioned points are worth elaborating in greater detail. Ilya Dvorkin, the initiator and organizer of the first expeditions, conceived of the

objectives of the expedition as restoring the cultural values and, more broadly, historical memory of the Jewish people. For example, he believed that the ornamental decor of Jewish gravestones would inspire Jewish artists to create a distinctly "Jewish" art. Subsequently, these thoughts motivated a series of educational tours of the regions of Ukraine where such interesting monuments of Jewish art could be found. Artists, students, schoolchildren, and others participated in these tours in different years. The educational value of such journeys cannot be doubted, but the idea that they would lead to the creation of a new "national" art sounds archaic, though completely in accord with the ideological constructs of the early twentieth century. An-sky formulated the objectives of his expeditions in the exact same terms—as an inspiration for the Jewish intelligentsia. One should note that already at that time such an instrumental approach with respect to the objectives of the expeditions raised scepticism on the part of professional ethnographers. Naturally, nowadays the scholarly and public agendas are even more difficult to reconcile. The naive attempts to explicitly adopt a position as the modern day supporters of An-sky's cause were typical of the early 1990s, a romantic epoch spent in quest for "the Russia which we had lost." Having pronounced seventy years of Soviet rule as a mistake, if not a historical dead-end, the various social forces rushed to rebuild the institutions and restart the processes, which, in their view, had been interrupted. By announcing their expeditions as a continuation of An-sky's, these researchers from Petersburg acted with the same mindset as the rest of the country.

At the same time, twenty years after the events, one can clearly see differences in the objectives and approaches of these two attempts to "discover" Jewish popular culture, separated by seventy-five years. The differences between the two ventures are more numerous than their similarities. From the very start, that is, even during the planning stage, An-sky conceived of his expeditions as primarily folkloristic. The ethnographic dimension was secondary. An-sky developed a keen interest in architectural monuments and decorative art much later—in the course of the expeditions. Moreover, architecture, synagogues, and cemeteries interested him primarily as the sites of concentrated folklore and historical memory. The notion of the "historical monument" in the thinking of An-sky prevailed over the notion of the "artistic monument." Despite the beautiful—and at times unique—photographs of the interiors and exteriors of synagogues, and despite the tireless collecting of exhibits for the future Jewish Museum in Saint-Petersburg, the interest in material culture and popular arts was quite peripheral to An-sky's pursuits.

An-sky was very interested in the life of contemporary Jewish communities, in the variety of their everyday experiences, and in their social structure and political affiliations. His "Historico-Ethnographic Program" discussed not only the problems of the Khmelnytsky era, but also the questions of Zionism and the 1905 revolution. There is no doubt that An-sky the collector was most interested in the contemporary life of the Jewish people.

The participants of the expeditions organised by the Petersburg Jewish University, on the other hand, were pre-occupied with the glorious past rather than the miserable present of the *shtetls* in which hardly any Jews remained. The past was embodied in the glamorous synagogues and the elaborately ornamented tombstones of the late eighteenth century. The participants of these expeditions could not undertake serious study of the folklore and ethnographic exhibits, since they lacked erudition, professional training, a knowledge of Yiddish, and a systemic interest in the recent past. The attempts to communicate with the native populations of the *shtetls* consisted primarily in recording "oral histories," but the results of this work, as is now obvious, were not satisfactory. The failure was mostly due to the lack of clearly formulated research problems. Such problems could not be formulated since the level of erudition of these amateur collectors was very low. Essentially, the most fruitful were questionnaires (one cannot really call them "interviews") dedicated to ethnographic problems. Some of these appeared in the two-volume guide *One Hundred Jewish Shtetls in Ukraine*. One must note, however, that the 1994 volume already formulated as one of the priority tasks the study of folklore and ethnography by way of interviewing bearers of the tradition. These plans were realized ten years later in the course of expeditions organized by the Center Petersburg Judaica. The latter expeditions are described later in this article.

A distinctive feature of the expeditions, which soon became known as the expeditions of the Petersburg Jewish University, consisted of conversations with the Ukrainian population. While the interviews with Ukrainians were not initially conceptualized as a separate and important aspect of the field work (that would happen much later), they nonetheless were a constant feature of our expeditions. This had to do with the more or less complete disappearance of Jews from the former *shtetls*. Only long-standing Ukrainian residents could recall the pre- and postwar past of these townships and share memories they had retained of their numerous Jewish neighbours. I should add that in recent years the image of "ethnic neighbours" (from the perspective of both Jews and Ukrainians) and the image of the Jew in Ukrainian folklore have become central themes in our research.

Now that the heritage of An-sky has been analyzed and, I hope, understood much better than in the 1990s, one can appreciate the full extent of his contributions as an ethnographer and writer. He was the first among the Jewish literati to “notice” the non-Jewish residents of *shtetls* and neighbouring villages. Included in the long line of An-sky's pioneering initiatives are the systematic study of children’s folklore and the use of the phonograph in field work; and exploration of the place of Ukrainians in Jewish folklore and the place of Jews in Ukrainian folklore. A good illustration of this research angle is a chapter dedicated specifically to the image of the Ba’al Shem Tov (the Besht), the founder of Hasidism, in Ukrainian folklore, as recorded in the collection of A. Rechtman, a participant in An-sky’s expeditions.[4] This chapter indicates that Ukrainian folklore was of great interest to An-sky and his collaborators. Moreover, the photographic archives of An-sky’s expeditions contain photographs of (Orthodox) churches and (Catholic) *kosciols* taken in the localities in which the expedition operated. The rationale for photographing monuments of other confessions is very obvious. On the photographs An-sky would write down brief summaries of Jewish legends in which any given monument appeared. An-sky understood that any ancient building, not only a synagogue, could be the site of “thick” Jewish folkloric memory.

It is even more obvious that An-sky took an interest in Slavic folklore, in particular if it reflected Jewish plots and motifs. He believed that one could incorporate this folklore into the larger reservoir of historical memory of place—the memory that was *a priori* a polyethnic mosaic—and in this manner contribute to the preservation of Jewish history. Thus the photographic archive of the expedition from 1912-14 contains a photograph of the glamorous Roman Catholic church in Olyk (Volhynia). An-sky wrote on the reverse: “The Polish Roman Catholic church in Olyk. According to the Poles, a picture inside the Roman Catholic church portrays the Eternal Yid; and when their holiday comes, they climb to the top of the Roman Catholic church and whip him [the Eternal Yid].” [5] Even if selective and not systematic, this interest in the non-Jewish monuments in *shtetls* undoubtedly became a turning point in the history of Jewish culture and literature.

That An-sky’s “discovery” was revolutionary can be properly judged in the context of contemporaneous Jewish culture. The ethnocentric “Land und Boden” ["Land and Soil"] character of Yiddish Jewish literature required the construction of the “national territory,” the non-existent “Yiddishland.” Jewish writers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries approached this problem through the

method of exclusion. As Dan Miron correctly pointed out, only Jews inhabit Sholem Aleichem's Kasrilivske.[6] Sholem Aleichem's narratives lack references to the *kosciol* spire and the cupola of the Orthodox church that would be indispensable attributes of any *shtetl*. Similarly absent are the *shtetls'* non-Jewish residents. Citing the memoirs of the writer's brother, Dan Miron writes that as a boy Sholem Aleichem resided on the Church Street and played at the gate of the church. But when, in the autobiographical story "From the Market," Sholem Aleichem described his native town Voronka (the prototype of Kasrilivske), he made no mention of the church. Naturally, writers representing the earlier generations were prepared to "admit" into their works "high-brow" non-Jewish cultures. Thus Nikolai Gogol was a very important figure for Sholem Aleichem, who in his work would frequently make direct and indirect references to Gogol. But the everyday "peasant" culture and its bearers, as well as Christian symbols, hardly found any place in the Jewish literature of the nineteenth century. The appearance of such characters and symbols at the margin of the narrative was invariably a dangerous omen. It is sufficient to mention that the appearance of the Orthodox priest and the Russian bloke Fed'ka in the opening scenes was a foreboding of the eventual baptism and symbolic death of Chava, one of Tevye's daughters.

Writers and artists representing modernist aesthetics chose the opposite approach. Unlike their realist predecessors, they did not "cut out" from the "portrait" of the *shtetl* inconvenient non-Jewish details—they preferred to appropriate them. For the majority of modernists the religious Jewish tradition was of little importance. They viewed it as no more than a family legend. The task of creating the "Yiddishland," on the other hand, was also important for them. But the "Yiddishland" in their understanding no longer centred on the Jewish street shown from a particular perspective in order to deliberately exclude the church. Now this notion encompassed the entire cultural space of the city and its suburbs. The shift of focus from the "Jewish street" to the city as a whole implied its cultural appropriation. Everything in the city was now "Jewish." Hence the wealth of "non-Jewish" details, such as the church cupola in the engravings of Solomon Yudovin (*The Old Vitebsk* series) and on the canvasses of Marc Chagall (*The Stroll*, *Over Vitebsk*). The most vivid example of such an appropriation is the depiction of Christ. The image of Jesus became a recurring feature of Jewish modernist literature. And here one did not speak exclusively of Jesus, conceptualized as the suffering Jew or, more broadly, as the suffering human. The intended meaning was instead linked to the recognizable details of the eastern European landscape—the crucifixion at the road-side. Such imagery

suddenly surfaced in the works of the Jewish modernists Shalom Ash, Lamed Shapiro, Uri-Zvi Grinberg, Sh.Y. Agnon, and Itzik Manger.

The transition from the "realistic Yiddishland" to the "modernist Yiddishland" can be discerned for the first time in An-sky's work. The photographs taken during his expeditions, as already noted, featured, in addition to numerous synagogues, also images of churches and *kosciols*. By taking photographs of churches, An-sky acknowledged that the Jewish folklore easily appropriated not only synagogues, but also churches. The clear message is that "simple" Jews—the "people"—noticed, understood, and incorporated into their worldview the fact purposefully ignored by Jewish writers, namely that there were churches in the *shtetls.* The next step consisted in not only allowing oneself to see the church and the peasant, but also to "include" them within the "Jewish space." That step was most likely taken by Jewish artists and writers, and later by scholars, as evidenced by the numerous publications and conferences on the subject of Jewish-Slavic cultural interactions and inter-relationships.

But let us return from the early twentieth century to the beginning of the present century. By the mid-1990s, young enthusiasts transformed themselves into a group of researchers who more or less professionally studied different aspects of Jewish history and culture. Those who collaborated with researchers from the Center of Jewish Art at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and focused their efforts on the traditional (mostly ritual) art and synagogue architecture, significantly departed from the ideas of An-sky. The same could be said about historians who began serious research in the archives. On the other hand, An-sky's main sphere of interest—folklore, ethnography and collective memory—remained under-researched.

Such research began only in the mid-2000s, when it seemed that the temporal window of opportunity had already closed. By then the conditions of work had changed dramatically in comparison with the situation fifteen years earlier. People born in the 1910s were no longer around. That was the last generation that remembered community institutions as they existed in the pre-revolutionary era. Those people not only could speak, but also read and write in Yiddish. Moreover, they were cognizant of the basic religious practices. The mass emigration of the 1990s caused the Jewish population of Ukraine's *shtetls* to decline at least tenfold. Many communities virtually disappeared. One cannot but note that one of An-sky's many predictions became a reality yet again. In 1908, in a programmatic article entitled "Jewish Popular Art," An-sky warned that if one were to put off collecting testimonies and artifacts, very soon it would be too late to start such work.

Portrait of S. An-sky (Shloyme Zanvl Rapoport, 1863–1920)

Valerii Dymshits and Boris Khaimovich, Satanov (Sataniv) in Podolia, Jewish cemetery, 1992. Photo: M. Kheifets

Tombstone of Ber of Bolekhów (Bolekhiv), Jewish wine merchant, scholar, and memoirist/chronicler of the XVIII c

Jewish tombstone in Pechenezhin (Pechenizhyn) in Galicia, dated 1837. Photo: M. Kheifets

Ordinary houses in former Podolian shtetls. Photos: Alla Sokolova

Naturally, the "too late" that An-sky had in mind was not the same that we encountered in our research. These first trips convinced us that the main problem was not the shortage of informants, but the lack of qualified researchers who could collect and process the collected data. Our point of departure for research in the field of cultural anthropology of Ukraine's former *shtetls* was An-sky's ethnographic program, "Der Mensch." [7] The Petersburg Judaica Center had this program translated into Russian just in time for the start of the 2004 expedition cycle. The program, which could be described as a veritable "encyclopaedia of Jewish life," greatly expanded our erudition and for a time alleviated the problem of creating new questionnaires. The initial expeditions, which centred on interviews rather than the study of the material culture, delivered astounding results. Employing An-sky's program worked well and provided a basis for starting conversations that would lead far beyond the problems originally enunciated by An-sky. As the participants of the expeditions accumulated field work experience, An-sky's original questionnaire was modified. Moreover,

individual scholars created questionnaires that reflected more accurately their research agenda.

The expeditions functioned as schools of field work for students and young researchers from the Moscow and St. Petersburg universities. Between 2004 and 2008 the Petersburg Judaica Center in collaboration with the Sefer Center for University Teaching of Jewish Civilization in Moscow ran a series of expeditions in southwestern Ukraine dedicated to a range of topics, including Jewish popular culture, folklore, ethnography, cultural anthropology, and oral history. Similar ventures were later organized in Chernivtsi/Czernowitz by the Center of Bible and Judaic Studies at the Russian State University for Humanities in Moscow. The region was chosen based on the fact that during the Second World War it was under Romanian occupation and the Jewish population mostly survived. Consequently, sizable Jewish communities still existed in the region well into the 1980s. Today, despite the mass emigration of the 1990s, small but functioning Jewish communities continue to exist in small towns of the region.

Our expeditionary groups worked in Mohyliv Podilsky, Tulchyn, Bershad, Bratslav, Yampil, and Tomashpil (all in the Vinnytsia region), as well as in Balta (Odessa region). In the process, we compiled a significant audio-archive encompassing some three thousand hours of recorded interviews. The two-week stay of a sizable group (some twenty persons) in one town made it possible to not simply collect specific data, but also to describe social practices and ideological notions, and to understand the functioning of a Jewish community within a small Ukrainian town, and of the town as a whole.

The participants in the expeditions were and continue to be interested in a wide range of subjects: folklore; ethnography (including traditional rituals), local traditions, and the transformation of traditional notions during the Soviet era; the life of religious communities; Jewish professions; the problems of collective memory; and socio-linguistic problems. The first results of the expeditions were reflected in the collection of articles, *Shtetl, Twenty-First Century*.[8] The comprehensive study of the former *shtetl* as a unified cultural space produced good results. *The Dictionary of the Local Text in Mogilev-Podol'skii*, prepared by M. Lurie and his collaborators, demonstrated further the importance of a comprehensive and multifaceted approach to the study of Jewish society and Jewish culture.[9]

This comprehensive and multifaceted approach also thrust onto the central stage the subject of inter-ethnic relations. The researchers systematically recorded impressions of Ukrainian town dwellers, who for several generations lived side

by side with their Jewish neighbours. Gradually, one came to appreciate the role and place of Jews in the everyday life, religious beliefs, and cultural notions of the Ukrainian population. But whereas this type of research ("a minority in the cultural imagination of the majority") was undertaken in the past, the subject of "the image of Ukrainians in the folklore and traditional notions of the Jews" appears to be at a pioneering stage.

The mutual influences between the two peoples are most evident in the calendar traditions. Ukrainian calendar predictions centering on Jewish holidays are well known. A classic example relates to the "Jewish *kuchki*" (Sukkot). According to the legend, the *kuchki* are followed by a spell of rainy weather. Moreover, as the collected data suggest, the word "kuchki" has come to signify any kind of unfavorable weather conditions. There are also examples of elements of the two cultures being combined, such as syncretic calendar signs in some localities. Thus residents of the Podolian Dniester area describe the spring weather as "Haman [from the biblical Book of Esther] playing with Yavdokha." In other words, the Purim character Haman "interacts" with St. Eudoxia, which the Slavic calendar traditionally associates with the change of weather. There is no doubt that many elements of the Jewish tradition made their way into the Ukrainian folklore and vice versa.

Scholars know much less about the influence of the Christian calendar and predictions on the Jewish popular calendar. Such notions, however, are indispensable for understanding common images and plots of classical Jewish literature. A typical example is to be found in Sholem Aleichem's best known work, *Tevye the Milkman*. Tevye "writes" to his author: "I have two memorial days: one shortly before the Intercession, and the second one closer to the New Year."[10] Tevye's calendar conflated the Jewish New Year (Rosh Hashanah) and the Orthodox Intercession. For Tevye, the cow-keeper, the Intercession is an important date. Studies of Slavic ethnography reveal that it was after the Intercession that people put cattle into the winter stables. Our Jewish informants were likewise aware of the Slavic calendar signs. For example, in Russia and in Ukraine there exists a legend that before the holiday Spas (Transfiguration of the Lord), 6 to 19 August, according to Julian calendar, one should not eat apples. That is why this holiday is called Yabluchhy Spas (Apple Spas).

The materials we collected during our expeditions suggest that the local Jews were quite familiar with this custom and were inclined to abide by it. One can also identify parallelisms between the Jewish and Christian calendar signs. Thus the

Jewish custom that one should not swim before Lag ba-Omer is typologically kindred to the Christian notion that one should not swim before the Trinity.

Generally speaking, one cannot properly analyze Jewish popular medicine, demonology, signs, and legends without comparing them with the corresponding Slavic tradition in the same region. The two traditions exhibit a large number of similar and at times outright identical notions. The number of questions one has to answer in the course of field work is larger than the number of known answers. It is our hope that new studies will expand the range of such answers.

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[1] Dymshits, Valerii, ed., *Istoriia evreev na Ukraine i v Belorussii. Ekspeditsii. Pamiatniki. Nakhodki.* (St. Petersburg: Peterbugskii evreiskii universitet, Institut issledovanii evreiskoi diaspory, 1994).

[2] Ibid., 6-14.

[3] Ibid., 14.

[4] Rekhtman, A. *Yiddishe etnografie un folklor* (Buenos Aires, 1958) (in Yiddish).

[5] Sokolova, A.V. *Fotograficheskie snimki v "Al'bom Evreiskoi khudozhestvennoi stariny"* (St. Petersburg, 2007).

[6] Miron, Dan. *The Image of the Shtetl* (Syracuse University Press. 2000), 2-4.

[7] The purpose of An-sky's *Yidishe Etnografishe Programe* (Jewish Ethnographic Program) was to systematize the collection and handling of data, as well as to enable volunteers to conduct independent work in places not reached by the expedition. The first part of the program, *Der Mentsh* (The Human Being), was edited by ethnographer Lev Shternberg and published in 1914; it asked 2,087 questions about the traditional lifecycle. Only the answers to the queries about death still exist. See Benyamin Lukin's entry "An-ski Ethnographic Expedition and Museum" in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*.

[8] Dymshits, V., L'vov, A., Sokolova, A., eds., *Shtetl, XXI vek: Polevye issledovaniia* (St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo EUSPb, 2008).

[9] Ibid., 186–219.

[10] "Az nedostoinyi," translation from the Yiddish by M. Shambadal, in *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1959), 469.

Traditional Jewish Art and Ukrainian Art Historians: Collection, Preservation, and Research in the Czarist, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Periods

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The purpose of this essay is to outline the main stages of the exploration of traditional Jewish art by Ukrainian art historians.[1] My interest in this subject arose in the late 1980s, when I participated in a field survey of Jewish monuments in Ukraine, and together with my colleagues discovered a world of Jewish folk art previously unknown to us. We had questions, for which our predecessors, among them Ukrainian researchers of the 1920s and 1930s, sought answers.[2] The documentation on Jewish monuments that they assembled provides a valuable record of the world of Jewish creativity on the eve of its total destruction. It is difficult to imagine today any serious research on Jewish material culture in Ukraine without reference to the documents assembled by Ukrainian researchers, and there is continued merit in considering their conclusions and observations.[3]

The exploration of Jewish folk art by Ukrainian art historians began about one hundred years ago. In 1910, Hryhorii Pavlutsky (1861–1924), the most outstanding researcher of wooden architecture in Ukraine, published the article "Ancient Wooden Synagogues in Little Russia" in a prestigious edition of the *History of Russian Art*.[4] In this article, he described two positions that for decades have defined the main directions for research conducted by Ukrainian art historians in the field of Judaica.

The first position represented "the search for an oriental perspective." According to the scholarly paradigm of the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jews belonged to the oriental peoples, and therefore their original art and architecture should be considered rooted in the artistic traditions of the ancient Near East. An ardent supporter of this position in Russia was the prominent art critic Vladimir Stasov, who insisted that the "Arab-Moorish style" of synagogue buildings in particular has, to a great degree, inherited traits of the original Jewish architecture of ancient Judea.[5] Pavlutsky argued against considering wooden synagogues from this "oriental perspective" and not finding any connection with eastern traditions in their design or construction techniques.

He denied that wooden synagogues were an original Jewish creation and supported his conclusion with the statement that "Jews could not have brought with them traditions of wooden architecture from Judea simply because there were no forests there."[6]

Pavlutsky supported the second position of Ukrainian art studies in relation to the folk art of Jews when he asserted that the origins of the architecture of wooden synagogues derived from the traditions of Ukrainian architecture rather than from original Jewish sources. In his opinion, "the most beautiful secular building was taken to be a model for a synagogue; this building was a "*szlachta* [gentry] house…with a high roof in the style of the Baroque." Moreover, the wooden synagogues "represent a no longer existing wooden 'szlachta mansion' and as such they are very important for the history of Ukrainian art, as they seem to be the last… examples of secular wooden architecture in Little Russia."

The position that wooden synagogues were inspired by Ukrainian architectural traditions was shaped in the context of nineteenth century art criticism with respect to monuments of Ashkenazi Jewish art and based on the search for elements of oriental traditions (stylistic features, shapes, motifs, techniques). As pointed out above, the presence of these elements determined opinions regarding the originality of the studied monuments. Those researchers who found no oriental influences in the architecture of synagogues denied their distinctive character, and those intent on emphasizing the originality of the architectural design of the synagogue buildings pointed to its links with the oriental tradition. Among the first group was the architectural historian George Loukomsky (1884–1952), who did not recognize any unique features in the synagogues of Galicia and Volhynia in his early works in 1913-15.[7] Among the second was a connoisseur of earlier periods in Podolia, Victor Guldman, who perceived the Sharhorod synagogue as "a gorgeous building in a Moorish style,"[8] and the contemporary Kyiv researcher of local lore Dmitrii Malakov, to whom the architecture of the synagogue in Sharhorod also "somehow appears Moorish."[9]

Pavlutsky's views on the Ukrainian origin of wooden synagogue architecture were shared by other Ukrainian art historians—among them, the well-known art historian, Kostiantyn Shyrotsky (1886–1919), who in his *Essays on the History of Decorative Art of Ukraine* (1914) extended Pavlutsky's view to apply to all synagogue architecture and folk art: "Decorative arts of the Jews who lived among the Ukrainian tribes in ancient times were closely connected with

Ukrainian art. Thanks to this fact, we have in their synagogues (of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) examples of secular Ukrainian architecture and paintings, which, according to Professor Pavlutsky, replicated the decoration of ceilings and walls of Christian houses."[10]

A new stage in Ukrainian art studies in general, and on "the Jewish street" in particular, emerged in the 1920s and 1930s with the spread of the Ukrainian movement for advancing local studies. This movement was supported in the first years by the Soviet authorities, whose policy of Ukrainianization aimed, in particular, at "building a new Ukrainian culture." Societies of local studies, conferences, publications, folk art and way of life museums, and expeditions (or as they were called "excursions") to Ukrainian villages and towns harnessed the energy of numerous representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, including art historians, museum professionals, and local antique experts. By the mid-1930s, this "renaissance" of national culture was stifled by the Soviet authorities, and its most active leaders were persecuted. However, the artefacts rescued by the Ukrainian researchers from destruction and the material recorded in their field studies have immeasurably expanded the base of Ukrainian art research, including the field of Judaica.

Among those who managed to keep images of the Jewish monuments (subsequently destroyed) was the Podolian art critic and director of the Kamianets-Podilskyi Art-Industrial School, Vladimir Gagenmeister (Volodymyr Hahenmeister) (1887–1938). In a lithographic workshop of the school, Gagenmeister, along with his colleague, the graphic artist Kostiantyn Krzheminsky (1893–1937), released more than one hundred small-circulation art publications, including albums of *Monuments of the Jewish Art of Podolia*, with lithographs of the old Kamianets-Podilskyi Jewish cemetery tombstones, murals of the wooden synagogue in Smotrych, and other content.[11] Both artists were subjected to repression and executed in the second half of 1930s, and their publications were destroyed.

During the same years, in the eastern part of Podolia, Gustav Briling (1867-1942), a historian of local lore and founder of the Vinnytsia Regional Museum (in 1919), gathered collections of illuminated Jewish manuscripts, synagogue textiles, wooden stamps for baking cakes for the festival of Purim (*Purim-bretlech*; sing., *Purim-bretl*), as well as photo collections of carved stone tombs and a housing estate of the Jewish quarter of Vinnytsia—"Yerusalimka." It is not surprising that in the Vinnytsia Museum there were no synagogue collections

of items made from silver or other nonferrous metals. Everything that the communities managed to save during the Civil War pogroms was confiscated in the early 1920s by the state.

Inspired by the idea of bringing the collections to the world of research, Briling intended to publish an album entitled *Jewish Antiquity*, in cooperation with the Jewish Museum in Odessa. However, these plans were not realized because the material was deemed "socially alien," as defined in numerous denunciations. Briling was first arrested in 1933 on charges of spying for Germany, and executed in 1942. It is possible to assess his attitude to traditional Jewish art, indirectly, through the exhibits that survived in the Vinnytsia museum, as well as the memoirs of his eldest son George.

Gustav Briling's son Georgii Briling was engaged in an expedition for the Vinnytsia museum and photographed carved tombstones in the old Jewish cemetery of Nemyriv, subsequently destroyed. He aspired to find ancient oriental prototypes of the pictorial motifs of traditional Jewish art, as described in the following: "There are traditional grapes, as a reminder of the golden bunches of grapes hanging in Solomon's Temple; lions, as symbols of power and strength; plants with spread out branches as a sign of abundance; two hands in the cuffs, as a sign that here a noble person is buried. There are many purely oriental elements, perhaps even of Assyrian-Babylonian provenance, depicted in the rich and elaborate Baroque style of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There is a scene of combat of a lion with a unicorn, a deer scratching its head with a hind leg, lions holding the ends of their own tails in their mouths, four-legged beasts with heads and wings of birds, a bird feeding chicks, foxes with prey in their teeth—in a word, fabulous manifestations of the oriental imagination in Nemirov, which survived through the centuries and millennia."[12]

One of the most distinguished Ukrainian art critics of the first third of the twentieth century, Professor Danylo Shcherbakivsky (1877-1927) of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts, examined the carvings of Jewish tombstones from the same "oriental perspective": "The primary source of the Jewish gravestone could probably be found in the ancient Egyptian stela: the images—basically similar—reflect obvious traces of the East, mainly in the Romanesque style. These include lions with tails topped with flowers, birds with flowers in their beaks, griffins, and deer in heraldic poses. With dynamics and treatment that are reminiscent of the flat Romanesque carving, these biblical lions, deer, and birds express the Romanesque style through the language of artistic forms."[13]

These descriptions suggest a certain development in the "oriental perspective." From now on researchers were not limited to questions of style or artistic techniques, but their search extended also into the area of interpretation of the iconography of symbolic images. Shcherbakivsky's research possibilities were narrowed by his lack of knowledge of Jewish languages and the Jewish cultural context. In order to enrich the arsenal of classical art criticism and to understand the figurative language of Jewish masters, Shcherbakivsky interviewed local Jews during his expeditions. He also tried to discover Ukrainian influences on Jewish artistic creativity. Images that he mentioned, such as "cranes and a crane with a snake in its beak" in the paintings of a stone synagogue in Ozaryntsi, and doors "covered with Ukrainian carving" in a wooden synagogue in Yaryshiv hardly convinced him of the importance of these influences.[14] At the same time, in the description of the *menorah* in the Slavuta synagogue, which according to Shcherbakivsky was created in the "traditional Jewish style," it is possible to see Shcherbakivsky's approach to the generalized vision of original Jewish art traditions.

Shcherbakivsky devoted his expedition of 1926 to towns in Podolia and Volhynia "to conduct research on house building in the small Jewish town (*shtetl*)… and monuments of Jewish art which are so inextricably linked to the *shtetl*." Shcherbakivsky's research findings were significant, especially with respect to house building. He noted that the *shtetl* differed immensely from "villages with their huts and courtyard buildings," "preserving the ancient traditions and remnants of a pre-Slavic epoch." His conclusions—that "all various types of *shtetl* buildings clearly reflect an influence of West European culture," and that "the house-building characteristic of the right-bank represents the influence of a German city"[15]—manifest an important step in the development of Ukrainian research of architectural and urban trends in the *shtetl*. Beginning in the mid-1920s, the study of Jewish folk art became particularly intensive in Shcherbakivsky's research agenda. The plans for an expedition in 1927 to Yaryshiv included measurements and the copying of paintings in a wooden synagogue. However, his premature death interrupted the research he initiated.

Further development in Ukrainian studies of the Jewish artistic heritage continued in the scholarly work of the famous Ukrainian art critic of the Soviet epoch, Pavlo Zholtovsky (1904–86). Since his childhood near Iziaslav, Zholtovsky was acquainted with and fascinated by the world of traditional Jewry. He retained this feeling from his childhood and expressed it in his memoirs.[16]

Zholtovsky returned to the region of his childhood in 1926 as a member of the Museum of Ukrainian Art in Kharkiv. He was the leading expert in the annual expeditions in 1926-33 organized by the museum's director, Stepan Taranushenko (1889–1976). He photographed and sketched hundreds of *shtetl* houses, synagogues and their interiors, cemeteries, and carved gravestones in the towns of Volhynia and Podolia. Today these photographic collections are gold mines for all those who study the history and culture of Ukrainian Jewish communities.[17]

Zholtovsky was interned in Stalinist labour camps from 1933 to 1936. In 1946, after a term of disenfranchisement, he settled in Lviv where he became an employee, and later director, of the Museum of Ethnography and Art Crafts. In 1966, during the brief period of political liberalization under Khrushchev known as the "Thaw" ("ottepel'"), Zholtovsky managed to publish his article "The Monuments of Jewish Art" in the journal *Decorative Arts*. Twenty-five years later the editors of the journal remembered that this publication "was so improbable that it was as unnoticeable as a loud sneeze in decent company."[18] In the history of Ukrainian, and actually the whole of Soviet art criticism, Zholtovsky's article represents a unique phenomenon of human courage as well as integrity in research. I do not know whether this article was in great demand during the period of its publication, but I can testify to its immense value for the revival of Judaica in post-Soviet times.

Expressing the aspiration to acquaint the reader "with some features and monuments" of the art of Jews in Ukraine, Zholtovsky in this article assumes the task of keeping alive the memory of the unique and multifaceted Jewish artistic culture of eastern Europe that was destroyed by the Nazis. On several pages filled with illustrations, he talks about the architecture and painting of wooden synagogues, copper casting and jewelry art, metalwork and woodcarving, the manufacture of painted faience, and about an art that gained mass distribution—the art of paper cutting of "mizrachs," rosettes and so on. Just as his predecessors had done, Zholtovsky, in referring to the paintings of the synagogues from the first half of the 18th century, discussed their oriental "arabesque nature" and the "flatness of the relative fragmentation of ornaments…associated with the art of the Middle East." He also found in these paintings, as well as in the ornaments of craft products, stylistic features and artistic devices similar to Ukrainian decorative art. At the same time, Zholtovsky emphasizes distinctive "national

characteristics" of Jewish folk art that "appear most clearly…in the objects of solely Jewish use rather than in the general goods." By claiming that "this formal cult art" has "a concrete-imaginative, life-affirming character that contributes to universal culture", Zholtovsky clearly demonstrated his civic stance.[19]

Another vivid example of the transformation of research activity into a significant social phenomenon was the presentation of synagogue architecture in Western Europe by George Loukomsky (Georgii Lukomsky). Loukomsky, who emigrated in 1921, also reconsidered views on synagogue architecture in Eastern Europe. On the eve of the Second World War, in 1935-36, he held several exhibitions of his watercolours and drawings of *Synagogues of Europe* in London, Paris, Lisbon, and Madrid (where the greater part of his sketches were destroyed during the Civil War).

Loukomsky published in London in 1947 a monograph entitled *Jewish Art in European Synagogues*," in which he observed the "clearly individualized and peculiar artistic taste of the Jewish people," and stated: "the Jewish people attained their true individual development when the Jewish architect was able to free himself from prevailing local influences and become an independent creator." He claimed in this monograph that "the people themselves, their dress and customs are full of individuality, faithful to tradition, and blended into one picture with their buildings," and saw a "naivety and archaism" in synagogue murals that were "especially full of that peculiar flavour that gives one the right to call it 'the Jewish style.'"[20]

In those early postwar years, Loukomsky raised the question of the urgent necessity to preserve and restore Jewish monuments destroyed during the two World Wars. Loukomsky's book—which includes some four hundred photographs and drawings of synagogues, their interiors, ritual objects, and tombstones—remains one of the largest published collections of objects of traditional Jewish art.

The most significant achievement of Ukrainian art historians and researchers in "the Jewish street" during the decades examined above would be the preservation of the memory of the material culture of traditional Jewry, such as the numerous objects of Jewish craft and religious ritual, as well as the documentation of Jewish monuments. For more than half a century, nobody ever claimed the collected objects and documents that were forgotten in the

storerooms of museums and archives. Their rehabilitation only began in the late 1980s and 1990s.

The most recent stage in the study of Jewish art in Ukraine is directly connected to global political shifts—the collapse of the Soviet Union and the formation of an independent Ukraine. To some degree, it reminds one of the heightened interest in Jewish themes in Ukrainian art research during the period of abrupt political changes of the 1920s and 1930s. There is the same "explosion" of interest in a "new" area of knowledge among many researchers and pan-regional specialists. Judaica has again been included in the official research nomenclature. There are new museums, educational centers, conferences, and a great number of publications. Contemporary research of Jewish culture has expanded both chronologically and thematically, and now incorporates themes relating to Jewish life in eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia.

However, while the object of earlier research was perhaps a decaying but still living folk culture, the new stage of research began half a century after the destruction of eastern Europe's Jewish civilization in the Holocaust and the years of deliberate oblivion under the Soviet regime.

Among the noteworthy achievements in the last twenty years of Jewish art research in independent Ukraine one should mention the discovery, description, and cataloguing of Jewish monuments, museum exhibits, and collections of Judaica, as well as related archival documents.[21]

While descriptions of the objects of Jewish traditional art are perceived as valuable achievements by contemporary Ukrainian researchers, there has also been some criticism of those instances of generalizations, the uncritical repetition of conclusions reached by previous generations of researchers, and the lack of knowledge about Jewish tradition or the relevant context for research.[22]

The preservation of Jewish monuments is still an acute problem in independent Ukraine. Ancient synagogues and cemeteries that survived both World Wars are being destroyed before our eyes. We hope that Ukrainian researchers of traditional Jewish art are not indifferent to the fate of Jewish monuments and will find ways to assure their preservation.

[1] This essay elaborates on a theme the author presented for the first time in August 2001 to participants of a conference on "Problems of Jewish Plastic Art," organized by the Jewish Agency *Sokhnut.* See: Lukin, Veniamin. "Traditsionnoe evreiskoe iskusstvo glazami ukrainskikh kraevedov" in *Kanon i svoboda. Problemy evreiskogo plasticheskogo iskusstva*, eds. T. Vaksman, D. Rubina, B. Karafelov (Moscow, 2003): 72–84.

[2] See: Khaimovich B. and Dymshits, V. "In the Footsteps of An-sky, 1988-1993" in *Back to the Shtetl. An-sky and the Jewish Ethnographic Expedition, 1912-1914. From the Collections of the State Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg*. Exhibition catalogue, ed. R. Gonen (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1994), 121-32.

[3] This paper draws on archival material and art criticism publications kindly given to me over the years by my friends and colleagues, including: Alexander Ivanov, Alexander Kantsedikas, Sergey Kravtsov, Yuli Lifshits, Tatiana Romanovskaia, Alla Sokolova, and Boris Khaimovich. I am also grateful to the latter two for their valuable advice, which has become a reference point for this research.

[4] Pavlutsky, G. "Starinnye dereviannye sinagogi v Malorossii" in *Istoria russkogo iskusstva,* ed. I. Grabar (Moscow, 1911), 2:377-82. Pavlutsky first offered to include wooden synagogues in the program of the description of monuments of Ukrainian architecture in his preface ("Wooden and Stone Temples") to the first issue of *Antiquities of Ukraine*, published in Kyiv in 1905 by the Moscow Archaeological Society and the Nestor-Letopisets (chronicler) Society of the University of Kyiv.

[5] Stasov, V.V. "Po povodu postroiki sinagogi v Sankt-Peterburge" in *Evreiskaia biblioteka. Istoriko-literaturnyi sbornik*. (St. Petersburg, 1889), 2:435-54.

[6] Here and further: Pavlutsky, the same article.

[7] See: Lukomskii, G.K. *Galicia v ee starine: Ocherki po istorii arkhitektury XII-XVIII vv.* (Petrograd, 1913) and *Volynskaia starina* (Kiev, 1913). For a detailed account of Loukomsky's relation to the architecture of synagogues in Ukraine and eastern Poland see A. Sokolova, "'Belyi gospodin' v poiskakh ekzotiki: evreiskie dostoprimechatelnosti v putevykh zapiskakh i iskusstvovedcheskikh ocherkakh (XIX—nachalo XX veka)" in *Russko-evreiskaia kultura,* eds. O. Budnitskii, O. Belova, and V. Mochalova (Moscow, 2006).

[8] Guldman, V.K. *Pamiatniki stariny v Podolii* (Kamianets Podilsky, 1901), 156.

[9] Malakov, D.V. *Po vostochnomu Podoliu* (Moscow, 1988), 95.

[10] *Ukrainian Decorative Art* (Kiev, 1914), 25.

[11] Gagenmeister, V. and Krzheminsky, K. *Arkhitektura ta stinni rozpysy synagoga mistechka Smotrych* (Kamianets-Podilskyi,, 1929); *Pamiatky evreis'koho mystetstva na Podilli* (Kamianets-Podilsky, 1926); *Pamiatky evreiskoho mystetstva na Kamianechchyni* (Kamianets-Podilskyi, 1926).

[12] Briling, G.G. Istorii Vinnitskogo oblastnogo kraevedcheskogo muzeia. Ocherki (manuscript,

1968), Vinnytsia Region State Archives, Collection R-5257 (Briling G. G), list 1, file 2.

[13] Shcherbakivsky, Danylo. “Pamiatky mystetstva na Pravoberezhzhi” in *Korotke zvidomlennia Vseukrainskoho arkheologichnoho komitetu za 1926 rik* (Kyiv, 1927): 206.

[14] See: Shcherbakovsky, D.M. “Excursion of 1926 to Volhynia and Podolia” (a hand-written diary of the expedition), in Archives of the Scientific Research Institute for Archeology of the Ukrainian National Academy for Sciences, F. 9 (Shcherbakovskii), p. 80 and others.

[15] Shcherbakivsky. *Pamiatky mystetstva na Pravoberezhzhi*, 191-93.

[16] An excerpt of Zholtovsky’s memoirs was published for the first time in Lukin, V. and Khaimovich, B. *One Hundred Jewish Shtetls of Ukraine. Issue 1. Podolia,* 2d expanded ed. (St. Petersburg, 1998), 262-63.

[17] For the first description of these collections see: Lifshits, Yuli. “Dve neizvestnye kollektsii po istorii materialnoi kultury evreev Vostochnoi Evropy” in *Istoria evreev na Ukraine i v Belorussii: Expeditsii, Pamiatniki, Nakhodki*, eds. V. Dymshits, V. Lukin, and B. Khaimovich, Issue 2 (St. Petersburg, 1994): 152-158.

[18] “From the Editorial Board,” *Decorative Art* 11 (1991): 1.

[19] Zholtovsky, P. “Pamiatniki evreiskogo iskusstva” in *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo SSSR*, 9 (1966): 28-33. About wall painting in synagogues see Zholtovsky, P.M. *Monumentalnyi zhyvopys Ukrainy XVII–XVIII st.* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1988), 20-21.

[20] Loukomski, George. *Jewish Art in European Synagogues* (London, 1947), 14, 15.

[21] See, for example: “Pamiatky ievreis'koi kultury na Ukraini” in *Memorials of museums and national parks* (in Ukrainian) (Kyiv, n.d.).

[22] See, for example: Dymshits, Valerii. “Evreiskaia tema v zerkale zhurnalov” in *Narod knigi v mire knig*, 85 (2010): 7-9.

A N N E X

Ukrainian Art Historians Commenting on Traditional Jewish Art and Architecture

Hryhorii Pavlutsky *(1861–1924), a pioneer in Ukrainian art history, was the first among Ukrainian researchers of folk art and architecture to draw attention to the architecture of wooden synagogues.*

"Anyone who has been to the small towns of the South-West region and had seen a dark wooden building with a distinctive architectural style that is usually located in a square surrounded by Jewish homes and courtyards, would recognize it as a synagogue. Wooden synagogues are now rare as they are being demolished because of decay, and their authenticity is lost. The Jews in Poland and Little Russia did not have to hide their houses of worship like in some other European countries. Therefore, the synagogues were the best buildings in the towns...In the construction of synagogues Jews maintained links with the old traditions of Christian wooden architecture. It can be argued that some synagogues are reminiscent of the vanished wooden mansions of the gentry...The same features were retained by the synagogues in Zabłudów, Nasielsk, Volpe, Pogrebische, Mihalpole, Khmelnik in the Podolian guberniia, and the most beautiful of them is the Volpe synagogue, which Berzon dates back to the seventeenth century."

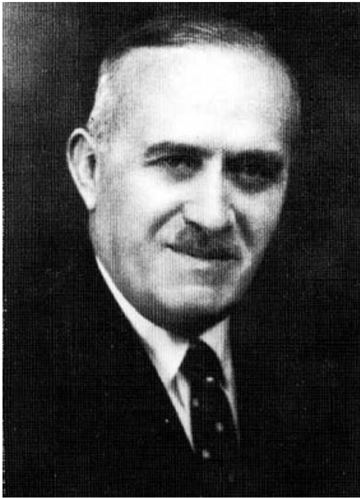
[Hryhorii Pavlutsky, "Ancient Wooden Synagogues in Little Russia," in vol, 2, *History of Russian Art*, ed. I. Grabar (Moscow, 1911), 377-82 (in Russian).] In his book *A History of Ukrainian Artefacts* (Kyiv, 1922), Pavlutsky compared the *aron kodesh* (the ark in which the Torah scrolls are kept) to the iconostasis, giving as an example the *aron kodesh* in the synagogue in Yaryshev, built in the second half of the 18th century.

***Kostiantyn Shyrotsky** (1866–1919), who worked for Ukraine's Central Rada government in education and arts preservation, published widely on the history of Ukrainian and Russian fine arts, folk art and folklore, architectural preservation, and archaeology. He had an interest in Jewish folk art, especially the decorative paintings and architecture of taverns and wooden synagogues.*

"Old-timers talk a lot about how buildings were decorated in the nineteenth century, and, among other things, report that on the Right Bank the more popular establishments were the so-called "painted" taverns, where the walls, doors, and shutters were decorated with various images of military and folksy everyday life to attract visitors. Such taverns or pubs were kept mostly by Jews, who always knew the tastes of the public and had the skills to appeal to them."

"...the decorative art of the Jews, who lived among Ukrainian tribes in ancient times, was closely linked with Ukrainian art, and thanks to that we have in their synagogues from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries examples of secular Ukrainian architecture and painting which, according to Professor Pavlutsky, was reiterated in paintings on the ceilings and walls of Christian homes. Here you find depicted signs of the zodiac, griffins, unicorns, elephants, deer, bears, lions, views of Jerusalem guarded by a fish curled in a ring, vineyards, etc."

[From the book *Essays on the History of Decorative Art of Ukraine* (Kyiv, 1914), 25 (in Russian)]



***Volodymyr Sichynsky** (1894–1962), a prominent Ukrainian architect, art critic, and book illustrator, included in his work, "Ukrainian Architecture", detailed descriptions of construction techniques and the interiors of stone and wooden synagogues, based on buildings he surveyed in eastern Poland, Galicia, Volhynia, and Podolia.*

"Jewish synagogues or shrines… are most of all interesting because they preserve features from urban construction in wood in ancient Ukraine…In Ukraine, the synagogue roofs were not much different from the roofs of other small town structures, including former 'homesteads' and palaces of the nobility. The roof usually had four slopes with pediments in the Hutsul [Ukrainian Carpathian mountaineer] style, and the roof itself, as in all baroque buildings, was layered in several tiers (or, as they say, "girded")…Sometimes the main hall of the synagogue has an octagonal church-like dome rising to a tent-like gathering at the apex, but the dome is hidden under the roof and not visible from outside. Also, some of the details (windows, etc.) are characteristic of church and secular structures. All this is telling in that the builders of synagogues were the same craftsmen who built churches and town homes….

"Until recently, very interesting synagogues were in the Kolomyia region [Galicia] where craftsmanship in carpentry generally flourished. Of the best examples we note the synagogues in the towns of Yabluniv, Pechenizhyn, and Hvizdets. The most common type—for being the simplest—is the synagogue in Hvizdets, and similar to it are those in Rozdil, Zhydachiv, Felshtyn (outside of Khyriv), Khodoriv, Kamianka-Strumylivska and other towns of Galicia. The synagogue in Pechenizhyn has all the same form and details as one of the town houses in Yabluniv in the Kolomyia region. The Yabluniv synagogue (1650-70) is interesting not only for its gable façade, but also for its hand-crafted ornamental wall paintings."

[*Ukrainian Architecture: A Typology of Ukrainian Wood Construction and its Historical Development* (in Ukrainian)]

***Danylo Shcherbakivsky** (1877–1927), Ukrainian ethnographer, archaeologist, art historian, and museum figure, who served as scientific secretary and teacher of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts. Shcherbakivsky organized annual field research expeditions, including in Podolia's shtetlekh (small towns), where he discovered Jewish folk art. He documented his findings in numerous photographs, expedition reports, and unpublished diaries.*

"Research of any Right Bank town would inevitably lead to researching Jewish art, since Jews represented the main population of the Right Bank towns. The need to intensify such research is caused by the frequent fires that periodically burned out these towns, especially during the tragic events at the end of the [First] World War and the Civil War, when so many old Jewish homes were destroyed."

"Among the wooden shrines, the most interesting one is in Yaryshiv in the Mohyliv district. It is a beautiful example of restrained baroque architecture with an interesting portico and gallery. The entrance doors are in Ukrainian style. Even more fascinating therein are paintings that cover its dome, ceiling, and walls. Several inscriptions in cartouches on the walls state when and by whose funds the paintings were done. The measuring and copying of these shrine's paintings is the first priority for research in 1927."

"Jewish tombstones evoke great interest. In the towns of Podolia and Volhynia mostly similar and traditional gravestones are observed; in Slavuta, Shepetivka, Zaslav, Kornytsia, Yampol, Bilhorodka, Ozaryntsi, and Mohyliv, the standing stone plates are, of course, identical in form. However, within this similarity in form one can see an extraordinary diversity in ornamentation.... Lions with their tail tips as flowers, birds with flowers in their beaks, griffins and deer in heraldic poses, all are reminiscent by their movement and interpretation of Romanesque relief carvings."

[D. Shcherbakivsky, *A Brief Report of the All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee for 1926* (Kyiv, 1927), from the “Jewish Art” chapter. (In Ukrainian)]

***Pavlo Zholtovsky** (1904–1986), Ukrainian art historian and museum figure, who published several monographs on artistic metalwork and mural painting in Ukraine, including material on Jewish folk art. He published his article "Monuments of Jewish Art" in 1966, despite the widespread anti-Semitic tenden-cies in the USSR at the time.*

"Artistic masters from the Jewish communities painted the interiors of synagogues (which for centuries were not only houses of prayer, but also places of social gatherings for ghetto inhabitants) and engaged in art casting and stamping, weaving and embroidery of synagogue curtains and ritual coverings, and ornamental paper cutting…The wall paintings in the wooden synagogues are notable for their monumental forms…in Smotrich, Mihalpole, Yarychev, Minkovtsy in Podolia, and in Yabluniv, Hvizdets, Khodoriv in Galicia."

"The paintings were related to the architectural features of the synagogue's interior, which was usually a quite high elongated hall with complex overlays, often in the form of an octagonal dome resting on walls shaped as triangular sails…The boards along the frame of the ceiling contained a full range of colorful murals. They were executed with glue and tempera paints over a thin chalky coating."

"The murals are distinguished by their spirit of creativity and popular optimism...In the paintings of the Mikhalpole synagogue…the images are very realistic but not characteristic of the synagogue tradition. Here are sweeping panoramas of the city, gardens and vineyards; a huge cart, loaded with bags and drawn by four horses, representing a typical market fair scene…The distinctive iconography and realistic character of the Smotrich and Mikhalpole paintings cannot be explained outside the framework of religious and social movements (Hasidism), which proliferated in the eighteenth century among wide circles of town and village Jews in Podolia, and later in Galicia and Volhynia. The Hasidim demanded a freer attitude toward ancient religious precepts and burdensome

rituals...Their call for more extensive contact with the outside world was reflected by the nature of the paintings in Podolian synagogues."

"Copper casting stands out among Jewish arts and crafts, mainly in the variety of lighting fixtures–from table candleholders to large two- and three-meter heavyweight nine-candle synagogue "menorahs." An extraordinary menorah decorative style developed in the eighteenth century and continued for most of the next century. One of the best examples was the menorah from the town of Bar in Podolia, a typical decorative item in the late baroque style. Solemn baroque motifs are combined with images of birds and animals. (This work is very close to that of Ukrainian decorative art both in terms of style and artistic techniques)."

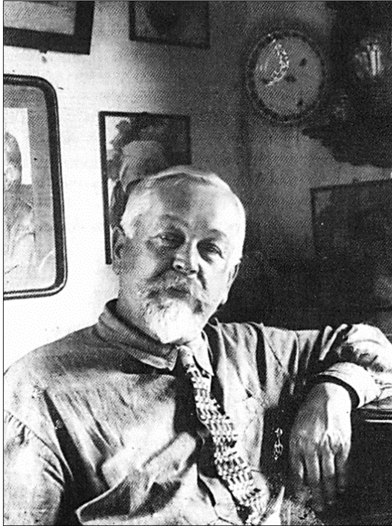
"Hanukkah lamps, which existed in almost every Jewish home, were closely connected with this art by utilizing the same artistic ornamentation. The story of Hanukkah and ornamental motifs are very diverse: there are geometric and floral patterns, animal images, symbols and emblems, as well as decorative elements of different art styles."

"Artistic wood carving is also a widespread form of craftsmanship. The renowned luxuriant decorative carvings of the "Aron Koydesh," in which the Torah scrolls are kept, are similar in nature to Ukrainian carved ornaments of the iconostasis."

"No less original was the art of jewelry where Jewish artists were widely using embossing, filigree, and engraving. Their products are thin, elegant and, most importantly, harmonious in form and ornamentation. Let us look closely at the *besamim* [spices] container…Usually it is in the shape of an intricate filigreed turret with weather vanes, but often is made in the form of whimsical fish, rams, and trees."

“The literate population of the ghetto developed a unique art form—paper and parchment artistic cutouts. These were complex compositions that included iconic symbols—figures of birds and animals, menorahs, and scrolls…. Among these works are "mizrah" wall decorations [indicating the direction of prayer] and "shvuosleh" rosette plates, associated with home celebrations of Pentecost."

[P. Zholtovsky, “Monuments of Jewish Art” in *Decorative Arts of the USSR*, № 9 (1966) (in Russian)]

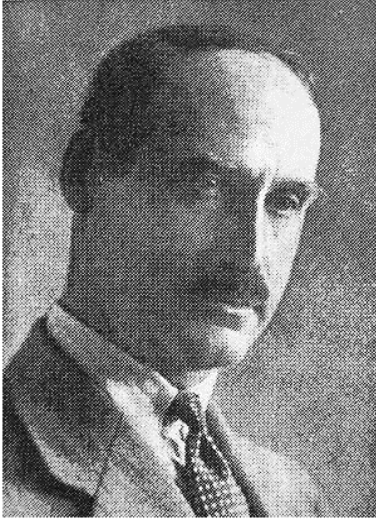


Gustav Briling *(1867–1942), the Ukrainian ethnographer and founder of the Vinnytsia Regional History Museum. Briling's son Georgii participated in the expeditions in the 1920s organised by his father, who had incorporated into the Vinnytsia museum collection numerous items of Jewish folk art. These were to be featured in an album of "Jewish antiquity"—which was never published as Gustav Briling was persecuted by the Soviet regime and died in labour camp in 1942.*

"In those years the "Okopisko" Jewish cemetery in Nemyriv still remained completely intact with a large number of ancient monuments of a great artistic value.... A simple description does not convey the richness, complexity, and original symbolism represented on these tombstones…Here is a struggle between unicorn and lion; a deer scratching its head with a back hoof; a lion holding the tip of his own tail in his mouth; a four-legged beast with the head and wings of a bird…in a word, in Nemyriv was to be found a fabulous oriental fantasy that had survived the centuries and millennia."

"To this time also belonged the collection of Jewish gingerbread wooden stamps – "Purim-bretel"...for stamping special cookies for the "Purim" holiday…Their shapes were rectangular, multi-faceted, rhombus, round, oval, fish shape, etc. The images were also varied: fantastic monsters, fish, birds, animals, or ornaments. Such forms were carved from wood and the imprinted pattern was transferred onto the dough."

[G.G. Briling, "Essays on the History of the Vinnytsia Regional Museum" (manuscript, Vinnytsia, 1968), The State Archives of the Vinnytsia Region, F.R-5257, op.1, d.2]



***George Loukomsky** (1884–1952), Renowned artist and art historian, developed an interest in Jewish architectural landmarks during his first trips to Volhynia and Galicia, as reflected in his essays of 1913–15 "Volhynian Antiquity" (Kyiv, 1913), and "Galicia in its Antiquity: Essays on the History of Architecture of the twelfth to eighteenth centuries" (Petrograd, 1915). On the eve of the Second World War (1935–36) Paris and London hosted an exhibition of Loukomsky's watercolours entitled Synagogues of Europe. In 1947 he published in London the seminal academic monograph Jewish Art in European Synagogues. The following are two graphic sketches of synagogues by Loukomsky:*

"The *bimah* (in stone synagogues) [has] characteristic traits…the peculiarities of the architecture are such as to force us to classify this type of structure independently of all others. The most typical *bimah* are found in the Synagogues of Luck, Rzeszow, Slonim, Zolkiew, Luboml, Nowogrodek, etc."

"With their interior ornamentation, the wooden carvings are the purest expression of the genius of Jewish popular art…The pulpits, elongated, "svelte" so to speak, are decidedly different from Christian altars, bearing indisputable witness to the personal taste of the Jewish craftsman. Like the canopy of the *bimah* and the *aron-kodesh*, they are distinguished by especially rich decoration recalling that of Jewish tombstones, a veritable lacework in wood, minutely wrought, with all the characteristics of Oriental art, though Baroque or Renaissance elements are fused in it with ingenious grace."

"Frescoes, or more correctly paintings in watercolours, are characteristic features of decoration in synagogues, particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, especially in Galicia…The paintings in the Synagogue at Kamionka-Strumilowa, on the Bug River, though unfinished, are particularly interesting. The freshness of the ambient background is remarkable. In 1935–36 the paintings

were still in excellent condition. Considerable imaginative power is shown in the treatment of motifs from floral and animal life and representation of biblical symbols and liturgical utensils."

"The ornamental treatment of tombstones in the many Jewish cemeteries in Poland, Ukraine (especially in Galicia), Romania, Bohemia and Moravia, is of great power and beauty. Sculptures of this kind should be made the subject of special investigation and study. Having regard only to the symbolical contents of sculptured representation, these monuments are often masteries of great originality. In them can be traced elements of antiquity and the strata of the varied influences…Most interesting museum-like cemeteries are to be found not only in such great cities as Lwow, Lublin, etc., but in small townships as well: Brody, Chernowice, Tarnow, Mikulow (Nicosburg), and even villages like Gombin and Leszniow, and particularly Kamionka-Strumilowa, near Lwow."

[G.K. Loukomski, *Jewish Art in European Synagogues* (London, 1947): 33, 57, 39]

Judaica in the Lviv Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts: History, Contents, and the Current Situation

Roman Chmelyk (Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts, Lviv)

The cultural heritage of Jews in eastern Galicia originated in the ancient Jewish tradition with its oriental roots, but it developed on Ukrainian ethnic territories within the Polish and Habsburg states, in contact with and under the influence of European culture. All these factors contributed to the originality and uniqueness of the life of the Galician Jews, both everyday and on holy days. Their religion and worldview functioned in the Ukrainian-Polish environment of the border zone between the Orthodox and Catholic worlds. The influence of the multiconfessional, polycultural and international milieus on Jewish spiritual life contributed to the evolution of Judaism as a religion, a philosophical system, and a culture with its literature and arts. The result was the emergence of the cultural phenomenon of Galician Jewry, with its distinctive mentality [Chmelyk 2006, 9-10].

The Jewish culture in Europe at large, and in Galicia in particular, was strongly tied to religion, which regulated all spheres of Jewish life, regardless of state borders. Religion not only affected the distinctive way of thinking about God and the world, but also regulated the details of everyday life, from holiday rituals to the physical appearance of people and their dwellings, to behavioural norms. In the nineteenth century, parallel to the development of modern scholarship about Judaism (as well as the appearance of progressive synagogues and the rise of new religious and ideological movements such as Hasidism and Zionism), there emerged among the Jewish elites an interest in Jewish cultural artefacts. This led to the creation of some important private and museum collections. [Hońdo 2006, 40-50].

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of various museums on the territory of contemporary Ukraine. Museum collections featuring historical, ethnographic, and arts and crafts exhibits came into existence in Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Lviv, and other places. Several museums were established in Lviv, which at that time was one of the most important centres of Ukrainian, Polish, and Armenian political, religious, and cultural life. These included the City Industrial Museum (1874), the Historical Museum (1893), and the Taras Shevchenko Society Museum of Antiquarianism (1895).

The main motivation behind the creation of the Industrial Museum in the city of Lviv, as for other institutions of this kind, was the idea of recovery and development of crafts that had been refined in ancient arts. A series of industrial exhibitions,

accompanied by the subsequent organisation of museum and industrial schools in the majority of large European cities, served as perfect role models [Pavliuk and Chmelyk 2005, 6]. It was the Industrial Museum of the city of Lviv that in the late nineteenth century began to collect the artefacts of traditional Jewish culture, along with the works of Polish, Ukrainian, and Armenian art. Already in 1895, it acquired two lecterns from the synagogue in Yabluniv near Kolomyia. The Museum's Judaica collection received two hundred paper-cuts from the late nineteenth century donated by Professor Julian Zachariewicz [Petriakova 1994, 75]. By the turn of the century, at least two Lviv museums—the City Museum of Crafts and the Taras Shevchenko Society Museum of Antiquarianism—had already assembled interesting collections of Jewish ethnography and arts. At that time, Jewish collections also began to be assembled at the Lviv Historical Museum and at the Jan III Sobieski National Museum [Horban' 2006, 46].

In 1910 Maximilian Goldstein, the famous collector and supporter of Jewish antiquarianism, spoke in favour of creating Jewish Museum in Lviv. But it was only in 1925 that the Jewish community in Lviv managed to form a "Curatorium for the Preservation of Jewish Artistic Heritage." The latter was to register all works of Jewish art, ensure their preservation, and popularize the rich national traditions [Kuratorium 1928, 1-4]. One could therefore say that the tasks and practical activities of the Curatorium completely coincided with the requirements generally placed upon museums.

One also should mention other institutions and measures directed at the study, preservation, and popularization of Jewish culture in Lviv in the early twentieth century. In 1901 the Jewish community in Lviv built a library. In 1910 Goldstein and the artist Joachim Kahane founded the "Circle of the Lovers of Jewish Art," which periodically organised exhibitions of Jewish art, as well as lectures and classes on painting and drawing. In 1925, its functions were taken over by the recently founded "Jewish Literary and Artistic Association." The latter boosted the activities of renowned Jewish collectors in Lviv—including Marek Reichenstein, Michał Toepfer, Karol Katz, Ludwig Feigl and many others [Horban' 2006, 47-48].

An important step towards the creation of the Jewish Museum in Lviv was the exhibition of Hebrew books and other works of Jewish art organised by the Curatorium in 1928. The exhibition took place in the building of the Jewish community and was dedicated to the Congress of Polish Bibliophiles [Glembots'ka 2003, 16]. Naturally, the exhibition privileged printed books and manuscripts, while other artefacts were relatively few in number and came from private collections.

The above-mentioned activities of the Jewish community in Lviv set a good example for other towns in eastern Galicia. For example, the Jewish community in Ternopil organized a separate section of Jewish artefacts at the regional exhibition in 1931. Such measures, however, were sporadic and small in scope [Hartleb 1933, 4].

On 26 February 1933 the Jewish community of Lviv passed a decision to create the Curatorium of the Museum. The rabbi and chairman of the Jewish community council, Doctor Levi Freund, was appointed president of the board of directors. [Horban' 2006, 49-50].

The first large-scale exhibition of Jewish culture in interwar Poland took place at the Lviv Museum of Artistic Crafts in March-April 1933. From the moment of its inception, this museum prioritized the gathering, study, and popularization of artistic crafts of the various peoples and ethnographic groups populating Galicia. Preceding the Jewish exhibition, the museum successfully displayed works of Hutsul and Armenian art. The Jewish exhibition of 1933 featured more than six hundred exhibits from repositories of the Museum of Artistic Crafts, as well as from synagogues in Lviv, Ternopil, and Brody, and from the private collections of Doctor Marek Reichenstein and Maximilian Goldstein. According to the catalogue, all the artefacts were divided into several sections representing the traditional Jewish life cycle, the synagogue, religious holidays (Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Hanukkah, Purim and Passover), and personal and household items.

One of the curators of the exhibition was Kazimierz Hartleb, subsequently director of the Museum of Artistic Crafts. Henryk Cieśla collaborated in the staging of the exhibition, while Ludwik Lille, a renowned connoisseur of Jewish art, prepared the catalogue. The program of the exhibition also included a one-day seminar on Jewish art [Hoshen 1994, 58-60].

The 1933 exhibition gave a powerful impetus to the creation of a unified Jewish Museum in Galicia. Officially, the latter was opened on 17 May 1934 at the community headquarters, 12 Bernstein Street (today Sholem Aleichem Street). Thus the idea of Maximilian Goldstein was realized by the leader of the Jewish community, the bank director Wiktor Chajes. The collection of the Jewish Museum consisted of three parts: (1) collections of the family of Doctor Reichenstein; (2) the property of the Association of Friends of the Jewish Museum; and (3) the property of the Museum of the Jewish Religious Community. [Schall 1935, 66].

The Museum occupied the third floor of the community building, while its exposition was set in five rooms and in the corridor. Visitors could familiarize themselves with artefacts pertinent to the religious service (crowns and shields of the Torah, Torah ark curtains and valances, etc.), everyday items (paper-cuts, repoussé metalwork, and china), paintings (portraits of prominent members of the Jewish community), and drawings, aquarelles, and photographs of architectural monuments and tombstones. A separate exhibition hall was allocated to the commemoration of the deceased Marek Reichenstein. The Lviv painter, art historian, and collector Ludwik Lille became curator of the museum. The museum was open everyday from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m., with the exception of Jewish holidays, and entry was free of charge [Horban' 2006, 50].

Maximilian Goldstein. Charcoal drawing by Mane-Katz, 1932.

Fortress synagogue at Zhokva (Żovkva). Drawing by N. M. Leichter, Lviv, 1898.

Lectern, Yabloniv (Jabłonów), 17th-18th century.

Wooden Torah Galicia, 19th century.

Torah ark curtain, Lviv, 1800.

Torah ark curtain, Lviv, 1698.

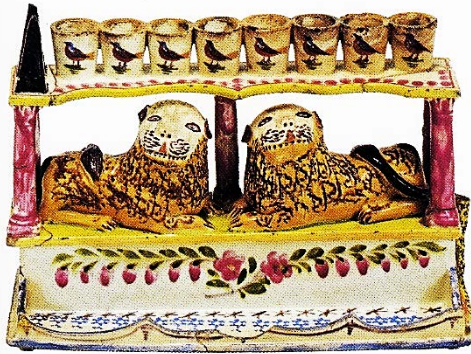
Torah ark valance, Lviv, 1848.

Torah shield, Lviv, 1740.

Torah crown, Lviv, 1848.

Synagogue Hanukkah lamp, Galicia, 1773.

Hanukkah lamp, Galicia, 19th century.



Painted faience Hanukkah lamp,
Eastern Galicia, 1855-1911.

Mizrah paper-cut by Akiva Hass,
Lviv, 1929.

Decorative pastry, Lviv (?), ca. 1930

Matzo and Passover food dish,
L. Królewska (Poland), ca. 1900.

This situation persisted until the start of the Second World War. Following the occupation of western Ukraine by the Red Army in September 1939, a Provisional Administration of the city of Lviv and region was formed, and among other matters began to concern itself with the reorganization of Lviv museums. At the request of the museum directors, on 25 December 1939 the Commission for the Preservation of Cultural Memorials at the Provisional Administration of the Lviv region appointed Goldstein as Director of the Museum of the Jewish Community, which, like many other civic institutions, was subsequently closed. [Hoshen, 1994, 68]. Already on 3 January 1940 Goldstein resumed work at the Museum of Crafts to which the authorities had earlier attached the Museum of the Jewish community. By February 14, in accordance with the decision of the conference of the Lviv regional executive committee, all the collections of the Museum of the Jewish Community had also been transferred there.

Maximilian Goldstein managed to hold on to his private collection during the total nationalization conducted by the Soviet authorities in western Ukraine throughout 1940 and in the first half of 1941. However, during the German occupation, Goldstein decided on 7 July 1941 to transfer his collection to the repository of the Museum of Artistic Crafts, which de facto happened on 30 August 1941 [Horban' 2006, 51].

In 1949, as part of the effort to bring order into existing collections, the Museum of Artistic Crafts handed to the Lviv Region's Picture Gallery (today the Lviv Gallery of Arts) a series of Jewish paintings and graphic works. The numismatic collection from Goldstein's depository went to the Lviv Historical Museum. In 1951 the merger of the Lviv State Museum of Artistic Industry and the State Ethnographic Museum (previously the Museum of the Shevchenko Society) resulted in the creation of the Lviv Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Crafts, which currently possesses one of Europe's largest collections of Jewish traditional art. Thus, the contemporary depository of Judaica artefacts consists primarily of collections of the City Museum of Crafts, the Museum of the Taras Shevchenko Society, the Museum of the Jewish Religious Community, and Goldstein's private collection. In the 1950s to 1970s, as a result of the efforts of the well-known Ukrainian museum activist and art historian Pavlo Zholtovsky, this collection of Judaica received hundreds of additional ethnographic and artistic items. (Zholtovsky found many of these valuable artefacts at the markets or dumping grounds). In 1973 a portion of the Jewish ritual objects was transferred from the Museum of Ethnography (as well as from a few other Lviv museums) to the newly founded Museum of Religion and Atheism, which initially functioned as a unit of the Lviv Historical Museum.

Today our collection of Judaica encompasses ritual objects from the seventeenth to early twentieth centuries, primarily from eastern Galicia, which had been in use in synagogues and in Jewish homes during the holidays, family celebrations, or in connection with everyday rituals. The collection also contains items of everyday usage. The synagogue artefacts include *parokhot* (curtains for the Torah arks, where Torah scrolls were kept) from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, and *kapporot* (Torah ark

valances) from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. The *parokhot* and *kapporot* were always made of expensive fabrics and were richly embroidered with ornaments. Dominating the décor were sacral Judaic symbols, for example, the Tablets of the Law, the Torah Crown, and the Star of David, as well as images of lions, birds, and other animals. The almost obligatory elements were inscriptions in Hebrew, which simultaneously served as decorations and informed the readers about the creators of the fabric and the date of its donation. Occasionally, inscriptions bore testimony to the usage of curtains and valances, for instance, during the New Year's service or the ceremony of circumcision. The synagogue items also include Torah mantles (seventeenth to twentieth centuries), cloth bags for matzos (nineteenth century), Torah crowns (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries), Torah shields (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries), wooden, metal, and ivory Torah pointers (nineteenth century), wooden pulpits (eighteenth century), candlesticks, and reflectors (decorative metal plates used to reflect and enhance candlelight and allow for the possibility of evening prayer). All these memorabilia impress not only with their décor, but also with the artistic skill of their creators.

A large group of exhibits consists of religious and holiday clothing items, such as eighteenth and nineteenth century skullcaps, belts, collars, and nineteenth century bodice-pieces etc.

Typical of Jewish prayer garb for the Day of Atonement were belts with metal buckles and depictions of lions, with various inscriptions. Holiday skullcaps, neckbands, and bodice-pieces with plant and geometrical ornaments exhibit beautiful embroideries with golden and silver threads. A significant portion of museum items are associated with everyday and holiday rituals—including ritual kitchen utensils from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, Passover plates (nineteenth to twentieth centuries), Hanukkah lamps (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries), and metal spice boxes (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries). In the collections of the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts one could find things that accompanied a person from the time of birth until the day of death, including items used during various rituals and celebratory ceremonies, such as circumcision and weddings, as well as items of everyday life. Of some interest are paper-cuts prepared specifically for the holiday of Shavuot, wedding rings from the nineteenth century, wooden and metal *mezuzot* (eighteenth to twentieth centuries), metal cauldrons (eighteenth to nineteenth centuries), wooden caskets, snuffboxes (late nineteenth to early twentieth century), drawings, lithographs, aquarelles, and other memorabilia.

During the Communist period, there was little interest in the collection, and organising or popularizing it was out of the question. The situation changed only in the late 1980s. The national renaissance in Ukraine created favourable conditions for the development of national-cultural associations. Simultaneously, state institutions began to actively popularize the cultural heritage of Ukraine's national minorities. In

February-March 1990, the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Crafts organised the exhibition *Traditional Jewish Art in the Seventeenth to Twentieth Centuries*, the first of its kind on the territory of the Soviet Union. The conception of the exhibition came from the long-standing museum worker and Doctor of Arts, Faina Petriakova, who subsequently became the curator of the exhibition. That same year, the Jewish memorabilia were successfully exhibited at the Palace of Youth in Moscow. Residents of Kyiv had an opportunity to view the exhibits from our museum's collection of the art of Galician Jews in October 1991.

In 1993 the exhibition *Treasures of the Galician Jewish Heritage: Jewish Collection from the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Crafts in Lvov* made its first trip abroad—to Kraków, the second most significant city of interwar Galicia. The trip was undertaken at the request of the Museum of History of Kraków. It was in Kraków that the first postwar bilingual (Polish-English) catalogue of our collection of Judaica was printed.

From Kraków, the slightly modified exhibition travelled to Tel Aviv. In 1994 it was exhibited by our partner institution, the Museum of the Jewish Diaspora (Beit Hatfutsot). The latter prepared not only a beautiful exposition but also a detailed catalogue, *Treasures of Jewish Galicia: Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine.* The exhibition in Tel Aviv was to be followed by a tour of the United States. Unfortunately, the tour got cancelled because of the arrest of the collection by an Israeli court due to an unfounded property claim by one of Goldstein's indirect heirs. Our Israeli partners, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, and the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine did everything possible to secure the return of the entire collection to Ukraine in 1996. One should note that this unfortunate incident had a significant resonance in Ukraine and created a tense atmosphere around our collection.

For several years following the return to Ukraine, the exhibits remained in the repositories of our museum. Only in the year 2000, on my initiative, was a tour of cities in eastern Ukraine, including Dniprodzerzhynsk (2000), Dnipropetrovsk (2000), and Zaporizhzhia (2001), organised. The exhibition provoked a great deal of interest not only among the local Jewish communities, but also among other residents of the region, since it gave them an opportunity to learn about the little-known aspects of the history of Ukraine relating to the Jewish heritage.

In 2002, upon the request of Thomas Mueller, the director of the Shloessberg Museum in Chemnitz (Germany), the exhibition *Treasures of Jewish Galicia* was also organised in that city on the occasion of the opening of the new synagogue. The main goal of the exhibition was to display sacral memorabilia of the synagogue and the interior of a Jewish household. The organizers paid particular attention to items ornamented by the so-called "Spanish technique." In March-October 2005, on my initiative, the exhibits of Jewish art from our collection were displayed at the Ethnographic Museum Schloss Kittsee in Austria. The latter is an affiliate of the Vienna Ethnographic Museum. One should also note that earlier our joint Austrian-Ukrainian

research project on Boiko and Hutsul lands had concluded with the exhibition on the Boiko and Hutsul highlanders in the Carpathian Mountains in the twentieth century, which took place at Kittsee. The active long-term collaboration with many Polish museums, which included scholarly exchange and sharing of literature, allowed us to expand the thematic range of our work. Traditional Ukrainian and Polish studies were now complemented by Judaica. One result of this cooperation was the travelling exhibition *Galician Jewry Culture in the Collections of the Lviv Museum of Ethnography and Crafts*, organised with the active participation of the Regional Museum in Stalowa Wola and the Historical Museum of the City of Gdańsk. This exhibition was displayed in Stalowa Wola, Gdańsk, Szczeczin, and Katowice. A detailed trilingual (Polish-Ukrainian-German) catalogue accompanied the exhibition.

In 2008 we approached the Embassy of Ukraine in Canada with a proposal to organise a tour of this exhibition in various Canadian cities in cooperation with the Embassies of Israel and Poland. Unfortunately, this idea has not yet been realized. One should note that throughout the years of Ukraine's independence no other collection of our museum was popularized as actively in Ukraine and abroad, as was our collection of Judaica. Items from our collection have repeatedly been cited in scholarly works by researchers from around the world. We are prepared to cooperate with all organizations and individuals interested in researching, preserving, and publicizing the Judaica collection at the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts. The previous activities of our Museum have aimed to realize the spiritual outlook of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who during the opening ceremony of the National Museum in Lviv on 13 December 1913 made the following statement: "We do not want to be guardians of coffins, but would rather be witnesses of resurrection."

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Modern Jewish Museums in Ukraine

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The emergence of Jewish museums is a fresh stage in the development of Jewish community life in Ukraine—a development that began a little more than twenty years ago with the renovation of synagogues and the creation of schools and kindergartens, Jewish cultural societies and structures for social assistance, youth associations, newspapers, and Jewish studies centres. The task of museums in the effort to revive ethnic communities is to preserve the memory of their history. After the collapse of the Communist regime, this was especially needed and continues to be needed—for the Jews in this country, their non-Jewish neighbours, and visitors to Ukraine.

These new museums are being created almost a century after their first predecessors were established. In the beginning of the last century museums were set up by Mendele Moykher-Sforim in Odessa, the Kultur-Lige (Culture League) in Kyiv, and in Lviv. The fate of these earlier museums was as tragic as the fate of the country at large in the twentieth century. Thus, for instance, the Kultur-Lige museum was mentioned only once in the *Proletarskaia Pravda* (Proletarian Truth) newspaper, which stated the following: "The museum also boasts the works of the newest artists (Picasso, Lentulov, Exter, Chagall…), Jan Brueghel paintings, and a collection of Japanese prints."[i1] Where these works are now remains unknown. Some museums were more "lucky"—we can learn about those who robbed them or ruined their displays, as well as the names of their keepers. Those were traumatic years. The civil war took 1.5 million souls. The collectivization and industrialization with the famine took over four million. The repressions of the late 1930s took about a million, while the Second World War took eight million. The legal proceedings against Jewish doctors and "cosmopolitans" also took their toll, followed by the more liberal "thaw" years—the more liberal "vegetarian" years in the words of the writer Nadezhda Mandelstam, though not liberal enough to open the borders or the special archives. In short, the notion of time was divided into "before the war, during the war, and after the war" (as stated by Arkadii Belinkov) and there was no other time.

In the late 1980s, those who lived long enough (or survived) saw new times. Communism died, having crippled three generations of Soviet people, and leaving as its legacy the rivers and soil poisoned, and what's more terrifying, scarred souls.

In the 1990s a new stage of post-communist life began, with all its controversies. Back then, with the first steps of setting up ethnic and religious community structures, we were already dreaming about museums, knowing full well what an important role they play in highly developed societies. There were certainly no resources or appropriate exhibition spaces for them at the time, just a dream. And years of meticulous work were needed to collect artefacts of the Jewish historical heritage and culture in order for the first Jewish museums to be born.

Conferences in the series under the modest name “Odessa and Jewish Civilization” have been convened in Odessa since November 2002. A narrower approach would not have satisfied Odessa. This may explain why the first Jewish museum in Ukraine was opened in 2002 in this city. Working in cooperation with the Migdal Center, its creators emphasized that they were filling a significant gap resulting from a neglect of the history of the Jews of Odessa in that city's state-run museums (not that Jewish history had much coverage in any of the other state-run or private museums in the country). According to the creators of this new museum, Odessa in the second half of the nineteenth century was the third most important centre of Jewish life in the world after New York and Warsaw. Living in Odessa in the decades around the turn of the century were the pioneers of modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature and the leaders of the Jewish national movement, including the writers and poets Mendele Moykher-Sforim, Hayim Nahman Bialik, and Shaul Tchernichovsky; historian Simon Dubnow; the forerunners of the Zionist movement Mosheh Leib Lilienblum and Lev (Leon) Pinsker, and Zionists Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, Asher Ginzberg (Ahad Ha-Am), Menachem Mendel Ussishkin, Meir Dizengoff, and others. And then, in the 1910s, the phenomenon of Jewish cinematography emerged, together with outstanding Russian writers of Jewish background such as Isaac Babel and others.

The Odessa Museum occupies around 160 square meters and holds approximately seven thousand items, including documents, photographs, books, newspapers, leaflets, religious and household items, musical instruments, and works of art. Around one thousand items are on display. It has several thousand visitors a year. Tours are organized, and books and brochures are published. The Museum is also one of the sponsors of the above-mentioned “Odessa and Jewish Civilization” conference series.

Most of the Museum’s display items are gifts from current or former residents of Odessa. The Museum exists due to the support of international charity funds, first and foremost, the Joint. Given the structure of its displays and the nature of its organization, the Odessa Jewish Museum falls into the category of local lore museums of the mid-twentieth century. Unfortunately, a lack of funds

prevents the Museum from being enhanced by new multimedia display technologies.

Several factors contribute to the Museum's success. An important subjective factor is that its director Mikhail Rashkovetsky is an art critic and experienced professional who cares for his museum and lovingly collects its artefacts. Another factor is that the Museum is helped by the activities of the Migdal Center, which for decades has been the main organizer of Jewish community life in Odessa. The Museum also works closely with members of the Jewish community in organizing lectures, exhibitions and festivals, and promoting programs of cooperation with schools and with college students.

The Chernivtsi Museum of the History and Culture of Bukovinian Jews was created in 2008, thanks to Josef Zissels, a Jewish community leader of Ukraine and Chernivtsi. His initiative, energy, and to some extent his personal money, helped to create this Museum. Conceptually, the Museum is in the category of regional museums, as its purpose is to tell the story of the life of the Jews of Bukovina, focusing on the period when one could still speak of a real community there—that is, before the Holocaust. The Museum's space is not very large (around sixty square metres). As it tries, within this small space, to cover Bukovina's Jewish history beginning in the seventeenth century, the Museum has gone beyond its physical premises by designing a booklet as a short guide to the history, religion, literature, arts, and theatre of this world-famous city where, according to the writer Rose Ausländer, "even the fish can be silent in five languages."

The Museum exhibits reflect the fact that the city of Chernivtsi and its outskirts are closely related to the glorious history of Hasidism. It is said that the Ba'al Shem Tov, the founder of Hasidism, visited here and that Avraham Yehoshu'a Heschel from Apta (Opatov) preached here. In 1845, the village of Sadagora (Sadhora) near Chernivtsi (today within the city limits) became the residence of Rabbi Yisra'el Friedman from Ruzhin (Ruzhyn), the founder of the Ruzhin-Sadagora Hasidic dynasty. Several other famous dynasties began in Bukovina: the Vizhnits dynasty founded by Menahem Mendel Hager, who became head of the Jewish community in Vizhnytsia; and the Boyan dynasty, whose first rabbi was the grandson of Rabbi Yisra'el Friedman from Ruzhin.

In the late nineteenth century, Jews began to play a more significant role in the life of Chernivtsi. They became bankers, factory owners, oil producers, and railroad builders. Early in the twentieth century, three quarters of all the taxes collected in Chernivtsi came from the Jews. In 1905–7, the mayor of the city was Dr. Eduard Reiss, and in 1913-15 this position belonged to another Jew—Dr. Salo Weisselberger. The Franz-Josef University had five Jewish rectors from 1891

through 1914. Jewish people made up more than a half of the university lecturers, 58 percent of doctors, and 76 percent of lawyers in the city.

Many of these facts are reflected in the Museum's narrative, as is the story of the city's charitable institutions for helping the poor, the sick, and the old. The Chernivtsi Jewish Orphanage was regarded as one of the most orderly in Europe. Another aspect relates to the internationally acclaimed cultural figures that hail from Chernivtsi—such as the writers Karl Emil Franzos, Paul Celan, and Rose Ausländer; and the Yiddish authors Itsik Manger and Eliezer Shteynbarg. Jewish artists, theatres, choirs, and a school for cantors also existed in Chernivtsi. One of the most outstanding cantors in the world, Josef (Yossele) Rosenblatt, was born in this city.

Special attention should be (and is) given to the historical conference on the Yiddish language that took place in Chernivtsi in 1908. In fact, Chernivtsi's Jewish Museum was opened in conjunction with a conference that marked the one hundredth anniversary of the 1908 conference.[2]

The Jewish Museum in Chernivtsi is relatively new and is seeking effective new outreach activities. One such activity, regarded as a model to emulate, is one of the best virtual Jewish museums, created by Galina Kharaz and called "Jewish Life of Bukovina from the end of the Eighteenth Century to the 1940s." The website for the Museum can be viewed at http://muzejew.org.ua/Index-En.html.

An ambitious project planned for Dnipro (formerly Dnipropetrovsk) was to create a museum of Jewish history and culture in Ukraine. It would occupy around four thousand square metres in the centre of the city next to the synagogue. It is supported by funding from local businessmen, the influential Rabbi Shmuel Kaminetsky, and the educational organization "Tkumah."

The concept of the Museum is based on the following goals:

- Preservation, comprehension, and presentation of Ukraine's Jewish history and culture as part of the national memory of the people of Ukraine;
- Comprehension of the various stages of this history in line with professional standards for studies in the modern humanities (considering that least three generations have missed out on this opportunity for well-known reasons);
- Popularization of the values of Judaism (as part of the Judeo-Christian civilization), both within the Jewish community and in Ukrainian society at large.

The ambitious and broad goals underlying the concept of this Museum can be realized only by adopting a substantive and systematic approach in designing

it. Beyond working on the development of exhibits, such an approach would include the organization of research activities for the Museum staff and the active contribution of expertise from abroad; the development and implementation of a publication program to provide for the printing of scholarly books on Jewish culture and history in Ukraine; the development of a strategy to reach potential audiences, which would consist of both members of Ukraine's Jewish community and the Ukrainian non-Jewish population; and the creation of an online portal to the Museum, which would add a virtual presence to the museum's displays.

The Dnipro Museum would include the following display sections—each of which would reflect a specific aspect of Jewish history and culture, and therefore require separate and dedicated development:

- Judaism religious texts and culture, including the Tanakh and Talmud, synagogues, and Jewish holidays;
- Jewish history of Ukraine from ancient times to the present, with special attention to experience during the Second World War and the Holocaust;
- Jewish artistic expression, including fine art, folk art, theatre, cinematography, and literature);
- Contemporary Jewish life in Ukraine and its ties to Israel and the Jewry of other countries.

The following is a more detailed description of the plans for the Museum.

The exhibits would begin with a detailed description of the structure and principles of the Tanakh (the canon of the Hebrew Bible), which later became the basis for Judeo-Christian civilization. Various types of synagogues would then be shown—from wooden to fortresses to stone-made, including images of the extraordinary murals of synagogue interiors, such as the well-known Chodorów (Khodoriv) synagogue and the recently discovered synagogue in Novoselytsia.

Religious rituals of Judaism, its traditions and festivals, and different ritual objects would be described, so as to inform people with little knowledge of Jewish tradition.

The history of Hasidism would be presented with genealogical trees of the main Hasidic dynasties. Special attention would be given to the role of Chabad and the history of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, whose life and activities have a strong connection to Dnipro.

One of the exhibits, devoted to the life of Jews in *shtetls* (small towns with a proportionately large Jewish population), would show images of typical structures of a *shtetl* and the Jewish houses in it. Photographs and works of art would describe the social types that resided in the *shtetls,* including blacksmiths, traders, tailors, shoemakers, pharmacists, and others.

A special section will depict Jewish quarters in the bigger cities of Ukraine, including Odessa, Dnipro, Kyiv, Chernivtsi, and Drohobych. This section would show images depicting the period of capitalism, the first stages of industrial development, and the communal and spiritual life in each city, as well as portraits of well-known personalities who had resided in those cities, including writers, rabbis, and businessmen.

The tragic periods of the pogroms and the Beilis trial would be conveyed through soundtracks, including voices of Jewish, Ukrainian, and Russian intellectuals, humanists, and writers who have spoken out in support of the victims of violence.

The exhibit would also show the history of Jewish migration to the Land of Israel, the United States, and Canada around the turn of the century. Special attention would be given to the impact of the Soviet "indigenization" policies and the development of Yiddish culture in the 1920s, and renewed repressions of culture and cultural figures in the 1930s. One display would be devoted to the Soviet campaign against all religions, the destruction of synagogues, and the suppression of the Hebrew language.

A special emphasis, in the central hall of the Museum, would be given to the history of the Second World War and the Holocaust, including the stories of evacuation, the heroism of soldiers and officers, and those who sheltered or otherwise helped rescue Jews. The names and photographs of Righteous Gentiles would be placed alongside the names and photographs of the dead.

The exhibit devoted to the history of book printing would show originals and copies of the most important editions of the Tanakh, Talmud, and books in Yiddish, Russian, and Ukrainian, which were printed in Ukraine over four centuries. It would show unique editions with stamps of Jewish communities that no longer exist, and with handwritten notes in Hebrew and Yiddish, ex libris labels, and inscriptions by celebrated authors. The collection would also contain the classic works of Jewish literature, including *samizdat* (clandestinely printed and distributed material) of the *aliyah* period, and manuscripts from the Gulag.

The display would represent the history of Jewish theatres in Ukraine, with special attention to the history of GOSET (the Russian acronym for the Moscow State Yiddish Theatre), whose activities we have managed to preserve and record in books and documents.

Also to be featured is the story of Jewish silent cinematography and Yiddish films, many of which have been preserved and then copied onto modern formats.

Jewish cinematography is an extraordinary phenomenon because it is linked with names such as Grigorii Gricher-Cherikover, Isaac Babel, Aleksandr Tyshler, Solomon Mikhoels, and others.

A special section would be devoted to Jewish music—cantorial singing, Hasidic music, klezmer ensembles, and outstanding performers of classical Jewish music. Visitors would be able to listen to Jewish folk songs from the beginning of last century, which have been miraculously preserved in wax cylinders recorded during the expeditions of S. An-sky or collected by Moisei Beregovsky.

A special display would be devoted to Jewish art, including paintings, sculpture and graphics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Several local art collectors have promised to lend works from their collections for display in the Museum.

A concluding display would treat aspects of modern Jewish life in Ukraine—the renovation of synagogues, the creation of schools and kindergartens, charity funds, the activities of local community centres, and the establishment of academic Jewish studies programs.

The conceptual development of the Museum envisages the use of modern technologies designed to suit the contents of each particular display section. Monitors would be used to enhance the presentations in the different sections. For example, in the section on synagogues, the monitor would show interiors and exteriors of hundreds of synagogues of Ukraine that are known to researchers today, and in the section on Jewish music one would be able to listen to klezmer groups from Ukraine and elsewhere.

A few words about other museums.

In 1996, the Holocaust Museum opened in Kharkiv, with an exhibit of material drawn mainly from the personal archives and collection of items of Larissa Volovyk, who was this museum's founder and director. Later, this collection included materials from other personal archives of ghetto survivors, their relatives, and neighbours. Kharkiv's Holocaust Museum used to be located in one room, and the exhibit contained mostly photographs of people who perished and information about them—mostly victims of the Kharkiv ghetto and Drobytskii Yar. It also contained information about Kharkiv residents who were awarded the title of Righteous Gentile—including their names, history and photographs. Today, however, the Museum has broadened its scope, both territorially and in its activities. It now has materials on the Kharkiv trial of 1943, which judged the Nazi occupiers of the recently freed city for crimes against

humanity, and which occurred 705 days before the main Nuremberg Trials. The museum has materials relating to the Kharkiv trial, including photographs, originals of the passes used to attend the court hearings, and a documentary about the trial filmed in 1943. The Museum also has materials on the Jewish contribution to the victory over the Nazis, including photographs, documents, medals, and diplomas. To serve its educational and outreach goals, the Museum maintains active cooperation with the students of Kharkiv schools and colleges, organizing seminars and conferences on the Holocaust.

In 2008 the Sholem Aleichem Museum opened in Kyiv. The event was significant, but the Museum has not yet held any serious activities. This Museum is a branch of the Kyiv Historical Museum. It has a very small staff and practically no original items about Sholem Aleichem to display, other than books that were donated.

What does the future hold for Jewish museums in Ukraine? First of all, it should be noted that museums are the structures of a mature civil life, and in normal circumstances they will exist and execute their social roles for a long time. A major concern, however, is that all the museums described above are private initiatives that depend on the support of individual private donors, and therefore there are no guarantees for their long-term viability and functioning. This is the fate of private non-Jewish museums as well. Several private museums with fantastic collections have been established in Kyiv over the past ten years, including the Museum of Spiritual Heritage and the Prognimak Museum of Antique Books and Maps.

The total dependence on funding and organization by private individuals can have additional undesirable consequences. For example, the Museum of Spiritual Heritage has, according to its owner, Igor Ponamarchuk, Europe's largest collection of icons. This may be true, but it appears that the collection itself is strangely organized, following neither historical nor regional principles. While the museum is quite large, with good security and nice interiors, there is a clear indication that it is not managed by professional staff.

In contrast to the traditional approach that existed in the past, when communities were built on the basis of joint financial participation of their members and a relatively democratic assignment of roles and responsibilities, our communities today are built on a different basis—everything depends on who provides, or does not provide, financial support. This does not bode well for the stability of any organization, especially for such complex institutions as museums.

Another problem specific to Jewish museums is the lack of professionals to work in them. Ukrainian colleges and universities have only very recently established programs that would prepare adequate experts in Jewish history and culture.

Effective approaches to public relations, the use of technologies, and interaction with visitors are very important for today's museums. While smaller museums have fewer opportunities in this respect, better conditions will probably exist for the Jewish museum in Dnipro, although not too many visitors come to that city. The city's excellent art museum cherishes every one of its visitors, which number several dozen a 1day. On an optimistic note, much hope is also placed in the Internet, which, according to a well-known formula, will save the world.

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[1] "Muzei pri Kul'tur-Lige," *Proletarskaia Pravda* (Kyiv) no. 19, 10 September 1921.

[2] Proceedings of the 2008 conference have been published as a volume in the *Jews and Slavs* series, the third such volume that the Kyiv-Mohyla Jewish Studies Center has published jointly with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

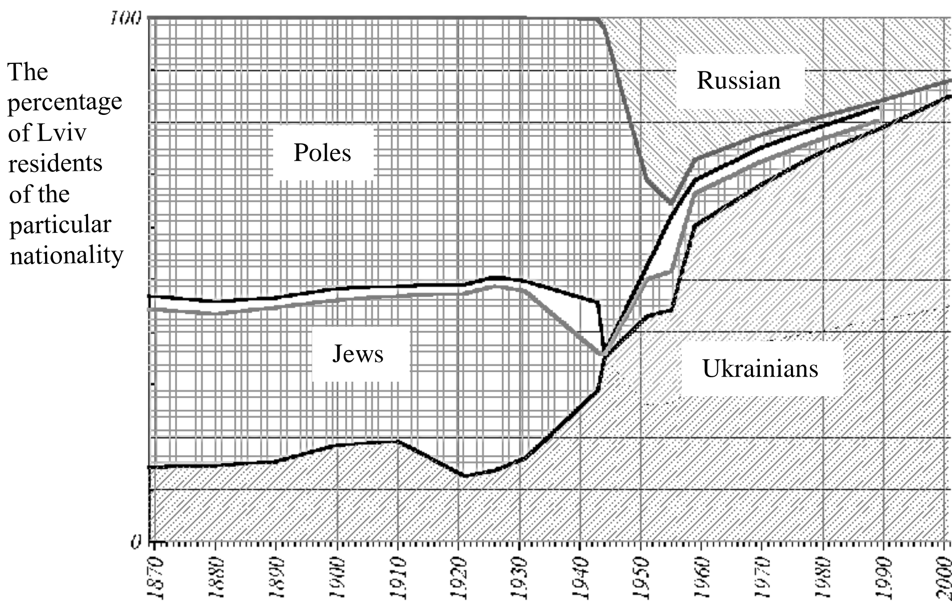
The Challenge of Recovering Historical Memory and Cultural Context: Reintegrating the Jewish Past into the History and Culture of Galicia

Taras Vozniak (Editor, Ji Magazine, Lviv)

One of the most pressing tasks of Ukrainian society is to recover historical memory and the cultural context of the country. These two existential components of any civilized nation were either consciously destroyed or lost in Ukraine over seventy years of Sovietization. The official indoctrination carried out during this time to a large extent deprived people of their identity.

A main objective of the Soviet regime was the creation of a new type of person, whom many ironically have designated as "homo sovieticus." Officially, the latter was known as the "Soviet person" and was to serve as the building block of the "new historical community of the Soviet people." The result of this policy, which was directed at expunging from historical memory entire cultural layers, was the development of a certain historical or cultural daltonism—a partial blindness or inability to see the full picture. The larger part of the culturally dominant population was no longer aware of the past, or even current, presence in the region of Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, and Jewish cultural communities—communities which prior to the establishment of Soviet power, ethnic cleansings, and the Holocaust had formed significant, and at times crucial, elements of the urban landscape. Naturally, this is corresponds with the physical non-presence of the carriers of these cultural communities. Nearly all of Galicia's Jews perished in the Holocaust. Literally, only individuals remained. Many Poles either voluntarily left or were forced to leave for Poland, while others were repressed and deported to Siberia. The repression also affected a significant portion of the Ukrainian population of the cities, the traditional bearer of the multicultural sensibility in the region.

Between 1939 and the 1950s, the ethnic and cultural context of Western Ukraine was radically transformed. The dynamics of the demographic change in the city of Lviv is illustrated by the following graph:



Ethnic Composition of the Population of Lviv, 1869–2001.

After the collapse of the Soviet regime, there were attempts to master and humanize the cultural space. The problem, as noted above, is that the overwhelming majority of the carriers of the cultural context that had shaped the pre-Soviet experience—Poles and Jews—are gone. The question therefore became how to restore the pre-existing cultural contexts, despite the absence of carriers of these contexts? And, more generally, who is the heir to the cultural heritage of the region given, once again, the absence of the carriers of the cultural contexts of the past? On the other hand, how does one deliver the knowledge about the region's difficult history to the consciousness of the dominant majority? More importantly, how can one transform the current residents of Galicia into the heirs of the entire cultural heritage of the region—Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish?

The NGO independent cultural journal *Ji* has attempted to make its modest contribution to this matter via a series of activities aimed at promoting diversity. One of the initiatives was the publication of an intellectual guide to Galicia and Volhynia that showed the region as seen through Polish and Jewish eyes. But the guides were really directed at a Ukrainian audience. Several were published, including: *Polish Life-Worlds of Galicia*, *Jewish Life-Worlds of Galicia*,

Jewish Lviv, *Volynian Life-Worlds*. Other publications exhibited the amalgam of cultural mosaics even in their titles:

“ТЕРНОПІЛЬ TARNOPOL TERNOPOL טארנאָפּאָל", "КОЛОМИЯ KOLOMEA KOLOMYJA קאָלאָמייא", and "ЧЕРНІВЦІ CZERNOWITZ CERNĂUŢI טשערנאָוויץ."

Of greatest significance was the conceptual issue *Jewish Life-Worlds of Galicia,* which familiarized contemporary residents of Galicia’s small towns with the Jewish aspects of the history of the places in which they reside. An important element of the cultural landscape of Galicia was the phenomenon of the Galician *shtetl*—the small town with a predominantly Jewish population. Small towns served as intermediaries between large metropoles (such as Lviv and Kraków) and villages, estates, homesteads, and households. To provide a more detailed description of the region, we also published an issue dedicated to small towns. We created in effect the first registers of these towns. In this manner, we naturally encountered themes related to the Jewish past of many of the Galician townships.

Jews, who started to arrive in our region quite late—at the earliest in the fourteenth century—settled mostly in towns and the adjoining areas. Similarly late was the arrival of other crucial migrational flows—those comprising Germans and Armenians. Whereas Germans and Armenians mostly settled in colonies and were connected with their homelands (respectively, the German lands and the Orient, broadly conceptualized), Jews had been exiles for one thousand five hundred years and had a different status. Of course, somewhere beyond the metaphysical horizon there existed the Land of Israel—Eretz Israel—to which they would one day return. While in exile however, they had to preserve themselves as a people and safeguard their faith, while settling in new lands. They concurrently had to maintain their dignity and avoid raising the ire of the powers that be, either through their wealth, success, or otherness. For example, the synagogue could not stand higher or exhibit more elaborate decorations than did the *kosciol* (Roman Catholic church) or the *tserkva* (Byzantine-rite Catholic or Orthodox church).

There were two reasons for Jewish separateness. On the one hand, the segregation was imposed by Christian neighbours who told Jews where to live, what

to do, and what to build. On the other hand, the Jews themselves were not interested in assimilation, and therefore tried to maintain their traditions by living close to other Jews and limiting their contacts with non-Jews. Consequently, the Jews formed separate, self-enclosed communities and residential quarters. These communities functioned according to Jewish law. The relations with the king or the magistrate were conducted by the administration of the *kehilla* (congregation). After all, this was the medieval tradition. The Jews inhabited the Jewish quarter.

In the big cities the structure of such quarters was strictly controlled by the magistrates and regulated by the laws of self-governing cities. As many small towns later turned into almost uniformly Jewish settlements, a peculiarly social and architectonic structure characteristic of the Jewish *shtetl* developed. The partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth affected to a considerable degree the formation in Galicia of a specifically Galician Jewish sub-ethnos—Galician "*zhydy*"—a group that could be distinguished from the Jews in the Russian Empire by the significant degree of Germanization and developed public institutions. This peculiarity may be attributed to the relative liberalism, at first of the Austrian, and later of the Austro-Hungarian empires. Consequently, there was a vibrant national renaissance among the Jews in Galicia (as well as among the Poles and Ukrainians of the region). These processes unfolded in parallel to each other, often in the same place and at the same time.

The social structure of the cities grew to be more complicated and more regimented. In large cities the shackles of the Jewish ghetto were rapidly disintegrating, while small Jewish *shtetls* were turning into Jewish towns. The quest for new social and architectural forms of modern Jewish life was accompanied by spiritual and intellectual endeavours.

Our project and journal aim to describe the Jewish/Hebrew universe of Galicia as a “Life-World,” which is a self-sufficient, large, and dynamic social community open to everybody. Some may view such a project and journal as unusual—which one can say is a natural reaction for the current residents of these towns, who still live under the conditions of a torn historical memory.

People representing the Jewish life-world are no longer in these places. Residents simply do not know what happened in the not-so-distant past. The goal

of our publication is to help fill the glaring lacuna in our memory. In this manner we will try, at least virtually, to reconstruct a world that constitutes an important component of Galician identity. At the same time, while preparing this issue of the journal, we consciously drew chronological boundaries. Our story is about life in the Galician *shtetl*. In other words, we do not venture beyond the beginning of the Second World War. The Holocaust is the subject of another issue entitled *Multicultural Lviv*.

The journal is in the form of an intellectual guide. With the guide in hand, one can hop into a car over the weekend and immerse oneself into the world of the practically extinct Jewish *shtetl*. And you will see and feel a different Galicia.

PART 6

PERSPECTIVES ON DIVIDED MEMORY AND DIALOGUE

Sharing the Divided Past: Symbols, Commemorations, and Representations at Babyn Yar

Georgii Kasianov

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This article presents an overview of the different representations of history and memory of the mass killings that took place in 1941-43 at Babyn Yar in Kyiv, Ukraine. The account describes how the tragedy was visualized and represented in different memorialisation and commemorative projects, and how—from Soviet times to independent Ukraine—Babyn Yar has become a field for competition of memories.[1]

The first attempt to commemorate the Babyn Yar victims dates from as early as 1945. The government of Soviet Ukraine (*Sovnarkom*) and the Central Committee (CC) of the Communist Party in Ukraine (CPU) issued a decree "On Construction of the Monument to Those Who Perished in Babyn Yar" (13 March 1945). In 1946 the Babyn Yar monument was included in the register of new monuments to be erected in the Ukrainian SSR, and fifty percent of the funds planned for the construction work were included in the state budget. The design of the monument was undertaken by O. Vlasov and I. Kruglov.

These plans were stopped by the central authorities, possibly due to the start of the ideological campaigns of 1946–51. After 1951, the Babyn Yar terrain was used for collecting pulp from a brick factory nearby. There were plans to fill the ravines of Babyn Yar with stones, sand, and cement, and to create a recreational park on this land.

On 13 March 1961 the dam at Babyn Yar failed after heavy rains, with the result that hundreds of tons of pulp flooded the neighbouring area. Officials reported that 146 people died in the catastrophe, but popular estimates pointed to over 1,500 victims. During Khrushchev's "Thaw," intellectuals in Kyiv and Moscow commenced a public campaign for the commemoration of the wartime victims at Babyn Yar. Yevgeny Yevtushenko wrote the poem "Babi Yar", which began with the words: "There is no monument at Babyn Yar," and launched a clear anti-judeophobia appeal. The opening part of Dmitri Shostakovich's

Symphony No. 13 in B-flat minor (1962), based on Yevtushenko's poem, was devoted to Babyn Yar.

In 1965, the Ukrainian SSR authorities decided to establish a monument to Babyn Yar victims. The plan was that the monument would be dedicated by September 1966, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the tragedy. A closed competition was announced, and about sixty projects were presented to the commission. The guest-book at the closed exhibition was filled with occasional anti-Semitic notes.

The special selection committee did not reach any decision, and under pressure from officials, the discussions gradually turned to the idea that the monument should be devoted to the memory of the Soviet soldiers, the POWs who were killed at this site. The competition was halted, the committee dispersed, and a new competition was announced. The new competition was also soon cancelled; the project proposed to the authorities presented a huge figure of a Soviet soldier holding a flag.[2] This project was personally rejected by Petro Shelest, the First Secretary of the CPU. Another project was stopped—supposedly because the memorial plan reportedly contained the image of the Star of David that would be seen from an airplane.[3]

Finally, a memorial stone was established close to the site of killings, bearing the following text in Ukrainian: "On this site there will be a monument to the Soviet people, victims of the crimes of fascism during the temporary occupation of Kyiv in 1941–1943."

On 29 September 1966, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the massacres, an informal meeting initiated by young Jewish activists and supported by Ukrainian intellectuals (Ivan Dziuba, Yevhen Sverstiuk) took place at the site. The speech that Dziuba delivered, about Ukrainian-Jewish relations, circulated in *samvydav* (self-published newsletters/journals), and was occasionally used as *corpus delicti* during the repressions against dissidents. The speech was devoted to the solidarity of Ukrainians and Jews in their sufferings and tragedies.

The site itself then became a place for informal pilgrimage, commemorative gathering, and protest actions for Jews in the Soviet Union. According to the memoirs of participants, the first meeting occurred in September 1968, the last in 1981. On several occasions, the number of participants reached almost a thousand. Only four people attended the last gathering, as the rest were identified and detained by militia; sometimes people were stopped at railway and bus stations and sent back.

In the meantime, continuous public appeals to the authorities to announce the project competition results and to begin construction of the monument were ignored. However, in the second half of 1960s, the issue attracted international attention. The writer Viktor Nekrasov, who was not allowed to return to the USSR after one of his international trips, did his utmost to organize public pressure from the outside. As a result, an open conflict occurred between Nekrasov and the Ukrainian SSR representative at one of the UNESCO sessions.

Subsequently, a new project was commissioned to the group of Kyiv architects and sculptors headed by the sculptor M. Lysenko and the architect A. Ignashchenko. The preparatory work began in 1974, and an official memorial monument was opened to the public in July 1976. Preliminary discussions about the dedication text focused mostly on the topic of avoiding the mention of Jewish victims. It was absolutely unacceptable to the official authorities that Jews be mentioned as the primary victims. The discussions about "to whom it may concern" culminated in the following text in Russian: "Here, in 1941–1943, more than 100,000 citizens of Kyiv and prisoners of war were shot by the German-Fascist invaders."

In the years that followed, the authorities largely neglected the monument, as official commemoration policies focused on military heroics. The Monument of Eternal Glory and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier erected on 6 November 1957 (the anniversary of the liberation of Kyiv in 1943) became an official commemoration site. The occasional official commemorations at Babyn Yar were used primarily to counteract the unofficial ones mentioned above.

Since 1991, the ideological restrictions imposed by the Communist regime have been lifted. The Soviet version of the Babyn Yar tragedy was openly confronted and disputed from the perspectives of different "national" memory projects. Babyn Yar was turned into a new battlefield—this time for competing memory projects, to bolster different versions of history, and even for discussions about the contemporary state of affairs in inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine.

On 29 September 1991, the *Menorah* monument was erected close to the sites of mass shootings. The monument almost immediately became an object of vandalism. The president of Israel, Moshe Katsav, visited the site in January 2001. In the years that followed, the memorial plaque, with the words "And my sorrow is always with me," was destroyed several times, and the monument itself was occasionally defaced by vandals. In 2006, unknown vandals once again

attacked the monument and a militia patrol was sent in. It was the sixty-fifth anniversary of the mass killings, and there was concern that the shameful neglect of the monument by the authorities might provoke an international scandal.[4]

By this time other monuments appeared on the site. On 21 February 1992, a memorial cross was erected, dedicated to members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) said to have been executed at Babyn Yar in 1942. The text at the renovated monument stated the following: "In 1941–1943, in occupied Kyiv, 621 members of the OUN have fallen in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state. Babyn Yar has become a bed of honour for them." In 2009–2010 this cross also became an object of acts of vandalism committed by unknown persons.[5]

In November 2000, not far from the *Menorah* monument, another cross was erected to commemorate the Orthodox priests, Archimandrite Alexandr and Archpriest Pavel, who were shot by the Nazis on 6 November 1941—allegedly for their agitation for resistance.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC or Joint) declared its intention to provide ten million dollars for the construction of a Jewish communal-cultural centre to be named “Heritage.” On 30 September 2001, the sixtieth anniversary of the Babyn Yar massacre, the memorial stone was placed around two hundred metres from the Soviet-period monument. The triangular stone was inscribed with epigraphs in Ukrainian, Hebrew, and English stating: "I will put my breath into you and you shall live again."

As some commentators have noted, different meanings could be found in the three inscriptions. In April 2001, the Kyiv City Council decided to allocate a piece of land for the construction of the “Heritage” community centre. According to the initial concept, the centre was to be designed as a major site for the revival of the Jewish community in Ukraine. In 2002 the project was presented for public discussion. It very soon became obvious that the idea of establishing this kind of institution on the Babyn Yar site was not acceptable — neither for a segment of the Jewish community in Ukraine and beyond, nor for many intellectuals, and also not for the central authorities. The discussion, which lasted for almost two years, revealed three different opinion groups.

The arguments of the opponents may be summarized as follows: Babyn Yar is a commemorative site for many nationalities, and as it is a sacred place for them, the establishment of a separate Jewish center would hurt the feelings of

other national groups; the centre (which would include, apart from educational facilities, a museum, library, cafe, shops, and music centre) should not be built on a site of mass killings, literally, on the bones of the victims. The opponents also envisaged that the construction of the Jewish centre would provoke a war of symbols at Babyn Yar.[6]

The proponents stated that the actual killings took place at the other end of Babyn Yar, exactly at the location where a recreational park has been established. Some present quite a different argument—that the memorial, which is designed to be a centre for spiritual resurrection of the Jewish community, should in effect be placed where Jews were exterminated.

Some proposed a consensus: to establish a Jewish memorial and museum at Babyn Yar and to build the cultural-community centre at some other location. In the course of discussions, the name to be given to the centre was changed—from "The Jewish Cultural and Community Heritage Centre" to "Memorial-Educational Community Centre."[7]

The discussions stopped in September 2005, when the incumbent President Viktor Yushchenko decreed that there should be preparatory work for the establishment of a state-owned “Babyn Yar” historical-cultural sanctuary. In 2006, the governmental and city of Kyiv institutions were to present the proposal for the sanctuary. However, no further practical steps were undertaken to advance the project. All state resources were concentrated on the planned construction of the *Holodomor* (the 1930s Terror-Famine) memorial on the Dnipro hills in Kyiv.

Concurrently, an unfinished building and a piece of land at Babyn Yar was reportedly rented (or perhaps purchased) by Vadim Rabinovich from Kyiv city authorities—with plans to build a Jewish community centre with a museum, synagogue, and school. These plans provoked another wave of heated debates about the “practicability” of such an action.[8]

In October 2009 Yushchenko issued another decree to enact a set of measures that would lead to the construction of the sanctuary by 2011—one of which was the establishment of a memorial museum at Babyn Yar. Finally, in February 2010, Yushchenko elevated the official status of the future sanctuary to “national.”[9]

Monument "To the Soviet citizens and captive soldiers and officers of the Soviet Army who were shot by German Fascists in Babyn Yar". Sculptors M. Lysenko, O.Vitryk, V. Sukhenko; architects A. Ihnashchenko, M. Ivanchenko and V. Ivanchenkov. Unveiled on July 2, 1976.

Menorah, set up on the 50th anniversary of the Babyn Yar massacre. September 29, 1991. Architect Y. Paskevych, engineer B. Hiller, artists Y. Levych, O. Levych

Monument to children killed in Babyn Yar. Sculptor V. Medvedev, architects R. Kukharenko and Y. Melnychuk. Erected on September 30, 2001.

On February 21, 1992, on the 50th anniversary of the execution of Olena Teliha and her associates, a wooden cross was erected to commemorate the executed members of OUN.

Memorial sign honouring executed members of OUN.

Memorial sign marking the place where a monument to Roma victims of Babyn Yar will be installed.

Cross erected in commemoration of priests executed in Babyn Yar. 2000.

Monument in memory of Ostarbeiters—people forcibly deported from Ukraine to be used as forced labour in the Reich. 2005.

In May 2010, the Jewish community of Ukraine announced another competition for a Jewish memorial at Babyn Yar. It is noteworthy that this discussion also provoked some anti-Semitic reactions. The public was introduced to denial arguments (with some stating that the mass extermination of the Kyiv Jews is a complete fraud), as well as to standard anti-Semitic speculations about a “Jewish conspiracy,” with the Babyn Yar issue being part of it.

Over this period, the Babyn Yar terrain has been gradually “populated” by other sites of memory and monuments. In September 2001, the monument to children murdered at Babyn Yar was erected in a location believed to be close to the site of the actual killings. This monument consists of a sculpture group that presents three broken dolls. In September 2005, the monument dedicated to *Ostarbeiters* was erected. The inscription on this monument is: "Memory for the future" and "Let us honour the memory of three million citizens of Ukraine forcibly deported to Nazi Germany during the Second World War, many of them murdered by back-breaking slave labour, hunger and torture, killed and burned in crematoria."

Recently a memorial plaque to the Roma people was also established near the *Ostarbeiters* monument. The epigraph states: "At this site, the monument to the victims of the Holocaust of the Roma people will be erected." Two attempts to erect a monument to Roma people were abruptly stopped by the authorities.

A Final Note

According to different estimates and documented data, Babyn Yar is a mass grave for some 100,000 victims of Nazism, murdered in a series of massacres between 1941 and 1943, of whom an estimated two-thirds (or three-quarters by other estimates) were Jews. The most documented of the massacres took place on 29-30 September 1941, when 33,771 Jews were killed in a single operation. The shooting of Jews continued for another three days. Other victims included thousands of Soviet POWs, communists, Roma, Ukrainian nationalists, Orthodox priests, mentally ill patients from the Pavlov Hospital, and civilian hostages of different nationalities. Ukrainian authorities have yet to find a way to properly acknowledge the fact that the primary and vast majority of the victims at Babyn Yar were Jews, while paying due respect to the other groups murdered there.

[1] The first systematic account on Babyn Yar history, which includes research articles, archival texts, and photos, was published in Russian in 2004: *Babii Yar: chelovek, vlast`, istoriia. Kniga 1. Istoricheskiia topografiia, khronologiia sobytii* (Kyiv, 2004). The text is available online: http://www.kby.kiev.ua/book1/.

[2] Photos and descriptions of some of these projects can be found here: Neosushestvlennye proekty http://www.babiyar-discus.narod.ru/BY-Nesush.html.

[3] "Babii Yar: Tragediia o tragedii," *Zerkalo nedeli,* 27 September 1997.

[4] Kyiv: pamiatnik zhertvam Babiego Yara "Menora" vnov` razrushaetsia http://www.holocf.ru/facts/861 (accessed 31 August 2011); "Babii Yar oskvernili!" *Stolichnye novosti,* 18–24 July 2006.

[5] Kharkivs'ka PRP oburena aktom vandalizmu u Babynomu Yaru http://kharkiv.unian.net/ukr/detail/192174 (accessed 21 June 2010).

[6] Vladimir Kutcheriavy, "Tsivilizovannoe sviatotatstvo," *Zerkalo nedeli*, 12–25 July 2003.

[7] For more detailed information about this public discussion and its further outcomes see: http://day.kyiv.ua/uk/article/cuspilstvo/babin-yar-ne-treba-monopolizuvati-pamyat-pro-tragediyu

[8] See for instance: Vitalii Nakhmanovich, Semion Gluzman, "Vadim Rabinovich kak personal`nyi magnit," *Telekrytyka*, 29 July 2006 and Myroslav Marynovych, "Izbezhat` voiny simvolov," *Zerkalo nededli,* 19–25 August 2006.

[9] *Ukaz Prezydenta Ukrainy 258/2010 "Pro nadannia derzhavnomu istoryko-memorial`nomu zapovidnyku 'Babyn Yar' statusu natsional`noho http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/258/2010*

Jewish-Christian Dialogue and Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burdens of History and Prospects for the Future

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It was not possible to speak about Jewish-Christian dialogue in Ukraine in the twentieth century. The atheism enforced on society hit most painfully those stateless nations – namely Ukrainians and Jews – who had survived, first of all, due to their faith. That is why our first attempt to hold such a meeting in 1999 at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv revealed that both communities were not actually ready for a Jewish-Christian dialogue in itself. The Jewish-Christian dialogue had been constantly reduced to a Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue. However, there is merit in promulgating in Ukraine the achievements of the worldwide Jewish-Christian dialogue as it may fruitfully contribute to inter-ethnic understanding as well.

Between the Secular and the Biblical Visions of the Future

A comparison of the secular and the Biblical perspectives of the Jewish future supports the premise stated above. In the secular perspective, the decisive factor is the success (or the lack of success) of the worldwide program of combating anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism, in the secular perspective, is perceived to be a harmful worldview that can be eliminated by well-thought-out educational measures. The idea is very pragmatic: *knowledge* about the crimes committed in the past against Jews is the remedy that would cure a potential or real carrier of the virus of anti-Semitism. In this view, it is thought that it would be sufficient to visit Yad Vashem or any other museum of the Holocaust to understand into *what* the simple "right not to love Jews" can be transformed.

However, Elie Weisel was right when he said: "One would need to be blind not to notice: hatred toward Jews is fashionable again."[1] The return of Judeophobia is like the return of the eternal Haley's Comet which spreads its ill-omened tail in the sky with a certain inevitability, and humanity (especially the Jews!) presume that one should expect new tribulations. We see today in many countries a certain resistance to programs developed to prevent anti-Semitism. From the secular perspective, this is perceived as a signal that the revival of anti-Semitism will recur where it was not overcome totally. That is why it is necessary to combat anti-Semitism more forcefully, in order to annihilate the virus completely.

Personally I have little faith in this approach. I turn my attention, therefore toward the Biblical perspective which, according to my understanding, is much more promising.

It is well known that the Biblical vision consists of two radically different pictures, depending on which stage of the "scattering-gathering" cycle we are observing. At the stage of scattering, God punished his people with all thinkable and unthinkable punishments (Ezek 5:14–15). A Jew who drank his fate as a Biblical decree with his mother's milk viewed persecutions and disdain as God's will. His attention was focused on God as the ultimate ruler of the fate of His people and on himself as a cause of God's wrath, rather than on the executors or instruments of the wrath. The following words of Joseph to his brothers were especially illustrative: "So it was not really you but God who had me come here…" (Gen. 45:8).

Of course, one should not idealize the situation, for it is hard to expect a persecuted people to fully understand their enemies. The Psalmist repeatedly asked the God of Israel to have no mercy on them (Ps. 59:6). But in the triangle *God-Israel-enemies*, the relations precisely between the first two components were precisely the most important in the consciousness of a Jew: "God, you know my folly; my faults are not hidden from you…For your sake I bear insult…" (Ps. 69: 6, 8)

This was so as long as the people lived in the paradigm of their Biblical faith. When it was replaced by the age of secularism, the argument of the "will of God" was increasingly replaced by the "will of man." The triangle *God-Israel-enemies* began to turn into a linear opposition of *Israel-enemies.* Therefore, the attention of the offended Jew was focusing increasingly on the figure of his/her offender. A secular Joseph would tell his brothers today: "Don't hide youselves behind God's back! It is you who had me come here!" (cf. Gen. 45:8).

Thus, the offender assumed more and more demonic features, and the reference to the "will of God" became irritating. In the case of the Israelites, Isaiah's expression of "as sheep to shambles" was viewed as the inability to defend oneself and as a consequence of the *Galut* degeneration.[2] Attempts to refer to the Bible's prophecies by a Christian provoked strong protest on the part of Jews as an effort to legitimize the criminal actions of Christian offenders.

However, there is a little-noticed but significant point in the Biblical narration: it includes reports not only about the persecution of the Jews, but also about their glorification: "Just as you were a curse among the nations, O house of Judah and house of Israel, so will I save you that *you may be a blessing*…" (Zech. 8:13).

The "sieve" of human consciousness traditionally overlooks such passages as a kind of exaggeration. However, it appears that the key which is still to be found lies precisely here: *the nations should not merely renounce anti-Semitism – they should receive the Jews as a blessing.* In other words, the Bible goes even farther in its "program of combating anti-Semitism!" And the difficulties faced by the present *secular* version of that program serve almost as an illustration of its incompleteness.

Of course, the question remains open regarding the specific moment of its history that the biblical nation turned from a curse into a blessing for all nations. It appears that the revival of the Biblical perspective remains a fundamental and inevitable necessity. Today however, under the scrutinizing and suspicious eye of an irreligious population, it is not enough to repeat after Rabbi Pinkhas of Kotsk: "Help to allow God into this world, and everything will be in accord."[3] It is important to make sure that "letting God in" or "a return to the Bible," as Naphtali Prat fears, would not lead "to reactionary attempts to tie the out-of-date dogmas of past centuries to the living, changing reality."[4]

Both Biblical successors, Jews and Christians, must consider the bitter experience of the past. Both have to prove that the "god" whom they let in will not call out the unfortunate demons of the past: the pride of being the only right one, the loftiness of electedness, the violence of forced conversion, and the aggression of religious prejudices. Both religious groups must realize that any revival of those demons will hamper the return of the Biblical perspective and will make secular reservations about it quite heated.

Problematic Aspects of the Mission to Convert Jews to Christianity

The importance of Jewish-Christian dialogue for the harmonization of inter-ethnic relations may be illustrated also by discussions about the conversion of Jews to Christianity.

In their effort to convert the Jews over two millennia, the children of the Christian Church failed to succeed. They also in addition stained their evangelical vestments with crimes against humanity. Eventually, the time had to come for sobriety and a search for new approaches, sometimes even very radical ones. Let us follow the development of Christian thought since the Second Vatican Council.

In the vather revolutionary conciliar document, *Nostra Aetate*, the condemnation of the persecutions of Jews and the task to desist from attempts to

convert Jews to Christianity are clearly combined with confirmation of the missionary responsibility of the Church (p. 4). Nine years later, the Roman Curia published explanatory notes to the provisions of that conciliar document which state specifically:

> In virtue of her divine mission, and her very nature, the Church must preach Jesus Christ to the world (*Ad Gentes*, 2). Lest the witness of Catholics to Jesus Christ should give offence to Jews, they must take care to live and spread their Christian faith while maintaining the strictest respect for religious liberty in line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council (Declaration *Dignitatis Humanae*).[5]

Three more years passed and the Statement of the Venice Commission already declared as improper the establishment of mission organizations aimed at the conversion of the Jews.[6] Cardinal Walter Kasper came to a similar conclusion in his speech in November 2001 in Jerusalem:

> The term "Mission" – understood as a call to conversion from idolatry to the living and true God (1 Thess. 1:9) – does not apply and cannot be applied to Jews. They confess the living true God, who gave and gives them support, hope, confidence and strength in many difficult situations of their history. There cannot be the same kind of behaviour towards Jews as there exists towards Gentiles. This is not a merely abstract theological affirmation, but an affirmation that has concrete and tangible consequences; namely, that *there is no organized Catholic missionary activity towards Jews as there is for all other non–Christian religions*.[7]

Reflections on Covenant and Mission, the document of the Consultative Meeting of the National Council of Synagogues and the Bishops' Committee for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs, contains the most revolutionary formulations to date: *"Campaigns that target Jews for conversion to Christianity are no longer theologically acceptable in the Catholic Church."*[8] These conclusions of the interreligious committee in the United States provoked considerable resistance from Christians. Arguments expressed may be grouped as follows:

- "This is the first time the Catholic Church renounces any right to carry out evangelization among a certain group of people" [Robert J. Schreiter].[9] In addition, this is among the group of people to which Jesus himself considered himself to be sent.

- The above-mentioned "theological inacceptability" would mean that the "Church re-interpreted the Gospel in the opposite way: 'Jesus came only to the pagans.'" [Austrian Bishop Andreas Laun][10] Then the preaching of Christ, and later the Jewish apostles, among their Jewish co-believers with whom they went to the synagogue together, should also be recognized as "unacceptable from the theological point of view."
- The words of the Apostle Paul – "For I am not ashamed of the gospel. It is the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes: *for Jew first*, and then Greek" (Rom. 1:16) – have firm theological ground, so the doctrine of the Gospel *only* for pagans simply ceases to be Christian. The belief that Israel will eventually accept the Gospel is the cornerstone of Christianity, which cannot be removed without risk for the whole structure.
- The negation of evangelization among Jews is based on an exceedingly broadened interpretation of proselytism. "We must distinguish clearly between mission and 'Christian witness'…and 'proselytism,'" maintains Tommaso Federici, for instance.[11]
- Some thoughts come even from the purely secular field. The Jews have done too much to help firmly establish the principle of the universality of religious freedom to be in a position now to argue that there is one exception to that principle, the Jews themselves.

The attitude of traditional missionary Christians is thus generally critical of the latest trends in Catholicism. In their understanding, the Jewish culture is just one of many cultures and there are no grounds to exclude it from the missionary sphere of the Church. Therefore, the statement that the Gospel should be preached to the whole world *for everyone* remains a normative principle for the Catholic Church.[12]

Let us not be confused with this apparent confusion of the dialogue. In the twentieth century, the Jewish-Christian dialogue did transform relations between both religious groups. The speed of that doctrinal transformation from both sides was striking, and such documents as the Statement of the Venice Commission and the *Dabru Emet* remain prominent achievements of both religious groups. However, it soon became clear that the pioneering squadrons of theologians and scholars

supporting the idea of reaching understanding found themselves so far ahead that they risked getting separated from the whole "army" behind them. Time is needed to look back at their doctrinal constants which provide foundations. These foundations cannot be undermined without risk to the whole structure.

In my opinion, the main reason for the discord among Christians is the fact that, for them, the words "evangelization" and "conversion to Christianity" are equal and interchangeable synonyms. Therefore, when they read about the inadmissibility of conversion, the opponents understand it as the inadmissibility of evangelization. However, the need to distinguish between "evangelization" and "conversion to Christianity" is quite justifiable.

One can hardly discuss the need to inculturate [that is, to "culturally integrate"] the Gospel into the Jewish culture, for the Gospel is the God-inspired product of the Jewish culture fostered by Judaism! The main system of Jesus's argumentation is rooted in Jewish Law and in the Prophets. The first church communities were exclusively Jewish, and this fact constitutes the justification for the Jews enjoying a special status among other nations.

Therefore, if Christians today do have a feeling that the cultural incorporation of the Gospel into Jewish culture is needed, this is only because they are focused on the incorporation of *European* Christianity into that culture! In reality, however, it was the Gospel, produced within the Semitic culture, that was incorporated into the Greek-Latin civilization of Europe, and not vice versa. As the Reverend Bishop Stephen Neill put it, "almost all Christian thinking is carried on within the categories determined by the Greek Christian thinkers."[13] And the Jewish culture, in a sense, cannot and does not want to receive that already-incorporated fruit.

Therefore, the evangelization, or one might even say, the *re-evangelization* of the Jews is possible, in principle; however, their conversion to Europeanized Christianity is quite doubtful and, according to modern principles, even inadmissible.

Certain insights can also be found if one clarifies the notion of evangelization. It is known that the semantic meaning of the word "nations" in the ancient Jewish understanding is specific. In Matthew 28:19, "all nations" (Greek = *ethnē*, the cognate of the Hebrew = *goyim*)[14] mean *the nations other than Israel*. Therefore, for the Jew, the word "nations" means not all the nations living on the planet, but all nations *other* than the Jews, that is, pagan nations, Gentiles. Jesus sent His apostles precisely to those nations (Matt. 28:19), which

is indicated by the words the Lord said to Paul: "'Hurry, leave Jerusalem at once, because they will not accept your testimony about me […] Go, I shall send you far away to the Gentiles [έθνη].'" (Acts 22:18, 21). Christ's commandment of Matt. 28:19 is traditionally interpreted as a commandment to preach among all the nations *without exception.*[15] But if we interpret that verse in conjunction with Acts 22:18, 21, the traditional interpretation would mean an illegitimate ranking of the Jews among the Gentiles, which is absurd in itself!

This shift of notions took place, in my opinion, historically. The perspective in which the Gospel mission was conceptualized *changed* with the establishment of the Church and with its Europeanization. At the time of the apostles, the "leg of the missionary compass" was propped against Jerusalem, which became the center of the drawn circle. The light of the Gospel extended to all the other nations (the Gentiles) precisely from there. A few centuries later, that "leg" moved to Rome and Constantinople. The light of the Gospel then radiated from there and was spread to all other nations in relation to these centers, that is, to the Jews as well.

Both illustrations open for Christians new layers of understanding. Because, if the argumentation proposed is correct, the new acquaintance of Jews with the Good News might happen only *from within the Jewish tradition* (based on a rethinking of Christianity as born in the bosom of Judaism and rejected later) rather than from outside via the conversion to Europeanized Christianity.

As Henry Siegman correctly warns, the belief of Christians in the future recognition of the Gospel by the Jews is not in itself an offense to the Jews.[16] What is an offense, instead, is the forced conversion of Jews into Christianity based on disdain for Judaism.

The nature of the partnership of the Jewish-Christian dialogue rejects both disdainful extremes. On the one hand, an important truth is being revealed to Christians who are ready to reject their medieval pride: Judaism will not be rejected as an out-dated doctrine and substituted with triumphant Christianity.

On the other hand, Jews should also not look forward to the time when the earth would ultimately collapse under Christianity. Mutual rivalries of adherents of the two religions were reduced not so much to the glorification of God as raising Him up on the banners of our hatred, thereby "dishonoring the name of the Lord." Perhaps the biggest sin is their common "pride of their power" (Leviticus 26:19), which distorted the spiritual nature of both communities in their history.

Both groups claiming to be the People of God continue to have much to do to prove it. Both communities need conversion, but they need a true conversion

– not a "conversion to Christianity" and not a "capitulation before Judaism," but a genuine conversion to one God. It will become clear for Christians that if "stiff-necked" Israel is destined to accept the Gospel of Jesus, it appears that it will do this not in response to the mission of Christians, but, rather, thanks to their *own* talk with God. One has to look at Judaism as the bosom in which, at the moment of completion of time, the new, genuinely Jewish, non-Europeanized, "new spirit" of Ezekiel may ripen. Having the belief that this spirit will be congenial and compatible with the Gospel of Jesus, Christians would have even more reason to guard this bosom in which Ezekiel's prophesy may be fulfilled.

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[1] *Khristiansko-iudeiskii dialog. Khrestomatiia*, ed. Helen P. Fry (Moscow: Bibleisko-bogoslovskii institut sv. Apostola Andreia, 1996), 86.

[2] Leibovich, I. "V deianiiakh velikikh i voinakh," in *Evrei i evreistvo*: *Sbornik istoriko-filosofskikh esse*, ed. Rafail Nudel'man, (Jerusalem: Gesher-Aliia, 1991), 127-28.

[3] Buber, Martin. *Selected Writings* (Israel: Library-Aliia, 1989), 99.

[4] Prat, Naphtali. Foreword to Buber, *Selected Writings*, 12.

[5] *Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration "Nostra Aetate"* (n. 4). Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews. Rome, 1 December 1974. See: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/relations-jews-docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_19741201_nostra-aetate_en.html.

[6] Federici, Tommaso. *Study Outline on the Mission and Witness of the Church*. See https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/resources/articles/Federici.htm

[7] Cardinal Walter Kasper. "The Jewish-Christian Dialogue: Foundations, Progress, Difficulties and Perspectives." Jerusalem, 19-23 November 2001. See: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/card-kasper-docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_20011123_kasper-jews-christians_en.html

[8] *Reflections on Covenant and Mission*. See: http://www.usccb.org/beliefs-and-teachings/ecumenical-and-interreligious/jewish/upload/Reflections-on-Covenant-and-Mission.pdf

[9] Shreiter, Robert J. "Changes in the Attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to Proselytism and Mission," in *Religious Freedom and Human Rights: Mission and Proselytism*, 3 vols. (Lviv: Svichado, 2004), 3:274.

[10] *Schweizerishe Katolische Wochenzeitung* 50 (2002).

[11] Federici, Tommaso. (II.A.8).

[12] *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, apostolic exhortation of Pope Paul VI, 57.

[13] Rt Rev. Bishop Stephen Neill, introduction to *The Church and The Jewish People*, ed. Göte Hedenquist (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1954), 15.

[14] *Reflections on Covenant and Mission*.

[15] *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964), 2:369.

[16] Henry Siegman, "Ten Years of Catholic-Jewish Relations: A Reassessment," in *Fifteen Years of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue*, 1970-1985. Selected papers by the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee. (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, and Rome: Libreria Editrice Lateranense, 1988), 40.

The Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter: Cultural Dimensions

ABSTRACTS

Setting the Context: Terminology, Regional Diversity, and the Ukrainian-Jewish Encounter

Paul Robert Magocsi (University of Toronto)

The accurate and sensitive use of terminology, and taking into account the diversity of experience in different regions and under different political regimes and dominant cultures, are critical to avoiding distortive generalizations regarding the Ukrainian-Jewish encounter. As for terminology, it is helpful to use the term "ethnic Ukrainians" to refer to members of the Ukrainian ethnic group as distinct from "citizens of Ukraine," which refers to the country's entire population regardless of ethno-linguistic or national background; and "Ukrainian Jews" or "Jews from Ukraine" to refer to Jews who have resided at some point in history on the territory of present-day Ukraine. As for regional factors, Jews from the Pale of Settlement, including the estimated two million who emigrated to North America between 1897 and 1917, described themselves as Jews from Russia, or from a particular town, or as adherents of a particular Hasidic group. Their experience was different from that of Jews who resided after the 1770s within the Habsburg-ruled Austro-Hungarian provinces of Galicia and Bukovina and the region of Carpathian Rus'. After World War I, Jews on the territory of present-day Ukraine found themselves in four new states: Polish-ruled Galicia, Romanian-ruled Bukovina, democratic Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union, each with its own restrictions, opportunities, and rights, as well as languages and distinctive cultural expression. To deal with the profusion of variant place names that resulted, it is recommended that place names, whether towns or historic regions, reflect usage in the country where they are located today. It is also important to avoid stereotypes (e.g., relating the *Galitsianer*), generalizations (e.g., that all Jewish experience in eastern Europe was one of unmitigated tragedy), or omissions (e.g., the failure to mention the impact of the Ukrainian language on Yiddish).

PART 1

REPRESENTATION, PARALLELS, AND INTERACTION IN RELIGIOUS ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Allegories of Divine Providence in Christian and Jewish Art in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Ukrainian Lands

Ilia Rodov (Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan)

Jews and Christians derived metaphors for divine providence and protection from the same biblical sources—in particular references to being carried to God on eagles' wings and the eagle protecting her young. In a departure from biblical discourse, both Ukrainian and Jewish artists rendered the symbolic eagle as double-headed. This image can be traced to eleventh-century Byzantium and was adopted in the emblems of the two empires flanking the Ukrainian lands: the Holy Roman Empire of the Habsburgs and the Muscovite Tsardom. The double-headed eagle became a pivotal symbol in the propaganda for the political and religious alliance of Khmelnytsky's Cossack Hetmanate and the Tsardom of Russia in 1654. It was then reinterpreted in the context of the struggle of Ukrainian Cossacks against the Catholics and appeared in engravings by Kyivan monks, religious paintings, and the interior design of several Orthodox churches. At the same time, symbols of the protecting eagle and the concept of sheltering "under the wings of the divine presence" became common idioms in the Jewish chronicles of the Khmelnytsky persecutions that had traumatized Jewish communities in the region. In this context, the double-headed eagle seemed particularly well suited to signify God's rule over the entire world, the tempering of divine justice with divine mercy, and the hope for redemption. After the Orthodox Church won its struggle for dominance in Ukrainian lands following their integration into the Russian Empire in the late eighteenth century, the symbol of the double-headed eagle disappeared from Ukrainian ecclesiastic art, but continued to be a prevalent symbol of divine protection in Jewish religious and folk art in Ukraine and surrounding lands until the Holocaust.

Ukrainian and Jewish Influences in the Art and Architecture of Pre-Modern Wooden Synagogues, 1600-1800

Thomas C. Hubka (University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee)

The exterior architecture of eighteenth-century Polish/Ukrainian wooden synagogues was predominantly a product of its eastern European Polish/Ukrainian context, or "Polish/Ukrainian in an unmistakably Jewish way." However, the interior wall paintings reflect a complex ensemble of two sets of contrasting artistic sources or influences: (1) an older strata of late-medieval Ashkenazi artistic traditions imported from Franco-Germanic lands and further developed for hundreds of years in eastern Europe, which retained pre-modern motifs prevalent in medieval Ashkenazi illuminated manuscript art (e.g., animal figures); and (2) a broad range of influences that reflect the multicultural environment of Jews in Poland/Ukraine, as well as the extensive travel and trading networks between Jewish diaspora communities throughout Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. The diverse influences include Sephardic/Islamic sources; Italian/Baroque stylistic influences of the Polish and Ukrainian nobility and the Catholic Church; Ukrainian and eastern European folk/vernacular decorative motifs; and international decorative art sources, such as adorned fine textiles and carpets favoured by the Polish and Ukrainian nobility. While the liturgical aspects of the synagogue wallpaintings remained relatively isolated from pre-1800 Gentile artistic development, the artistic totality of these paintings represents a selective distillation of many local and international Ukrainian, Polish, and eastern European sources, reflecting the unique multicultural Jewish diaspora experience.

The Synagogue Wall Paintings in Novoselytsia, Ukraine

Boris Khaimovich (Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

The synagogue murals in Novoselytsia, which have survived in their pristine form under a layer of plaster, illustrate a remarkable blending of three sources of influence: Jewish religious folk art; the palatial style associated with the descendants of the Ruzhin Hasidic dynasty in Boyan and Sadagora in the Chernivtsi region; and the folk art of the ambient Ukrainian and Moldovan culture. The master who painted the Novoselytsia synagogue murals most likely

followed a distinctive regional tradition. The composition he produced is multilayered and thoroughly thought out, unlike the decorative panels or illustrative "pictures" that are not unified by a common idea, such as those found on the walls of many synagogues in today's Poland and Romania. It also differs from the ornamentation of the wooden eighteenth century synagogues of southern Galicia. The composition comprises spectacular nature scenes and symbolic depictions from Jewish antiquity and medieval Jewish artistic traditions, including biblical themes, the signs of the Zodiac, and images aligned with the religious calendar cycle. The palatial style of Boyan/Sadagora Hasidism is evident in the elaborate décor of azure and purple tones and the splendour of the composition. The images featured in this composition also reflect the strong connection that the Ruzhin Hasidim and their descendants felt for the Land of Israel. The most vivid decorative elements, however, were borrowed from the folk art of the ambient Ukrainian and Moldovan culture—including the use of contrasting red and blue hues, multicoloured geometric patterns, floral bouquets, luscious still life of ripe fruit with decanters of yellow Carpathian wine, the characteristic iconography of animals such as deer, lion, and eagle, and swallows flying in the blue sky.

The Israelite Hospital in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, 1898–1912: "Jewish" Architecture by an "International" Team

Sergey Kravtsov (Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Both the architectural style of the Israelite Hospital and the "international" team responsible for its construction reflect the multi-ethnic character of turn-of-the-century Lviv. Built in 1898–1903 on a plot that had been in Jewish hands for five centuries, the hospital served Jews and non-Jews alike. It is used today as a maternity hospital and is described as "the most sumptuous Jewish landmark" in the current Lviv cityscape. Its overall synthetic style ("Moorish," "Romanesque oriental," "Romantic Historicism," with cupolas or "oriental" domes) was attuned to the diverse identities of its varied clients. This novel style, characteristic of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was also adopted for the construction of the Ruthenian National Institute in Lviv to serve the needs of the Ukrainian community. The initiative and funding for the ambitious hospital project came from the Jewish philanthropist Maurycy Lazarus and his wife Róża

Marja (née Jolles). The contractor hired was the firm of Ivan Levynsky—a Ukrainian patriot and an outstanding architect who also worked on Lviv's Opera House and the new Railway Station. The project design was prepared by Levynsky's Polish employee Kazimierz Mokłowski, an ethnographer, architectural historian, and member of the Social Democratic Party of Galicia. A new ambulatory wing was commissioned in 1912 from the architectural firm of Michał Ulam—a successful Jewish architect and industrialist born in Lviv and the son-in-law of the Progressive Chief Rabbi of Lviv—and designed by Ulam's Polish associate Roman Feliński.

PART 2

SECULAR ART AND CINEMA

Teachers and Pupils: Ukrainian Avant-gardists Exter and Bohomazov and the Kyiv Circle of Jewish Cubo-Futurists, 1918-20

Dmytro Horbachov (Karpenko-Kary National University, Kyiv)

The creative artistic milieu in Kyiv in 1918-20, and in particular the Exter-Rabinovich Art Studio, inspired artists of both Jewish and ethnic Ukrainian background to become pioneers of the avant-garde movement. In this studio, young Jewish artists from the Kultur-Lige studied Cubo-Futurism and Abstractionism with Alexandra Exter and Oleksandr Bohomazov, alongside young artists of ethnic Ukrainian background. A review by the Kultur-Lige artist Nisn Shifrin of two art exhibitions in Kyiv in 1920 reflects the strong influence of Exter and Bohomazov on the Kultur-Lige artists. It is also noteworthy that the catalogues of the Kultur-Lige were printed simultaneously in Ukraine's three official languages of Ukrainian, Russian, and Yiddish. In the Exter studio artists learned key elements of modern painting, in particular the rejection of "literalness" and narrativity in favour of abstract plastic conception, as well as innovative approaches to theatre set design. The result was a world-renowned cohort of artists (including Mark Epshtein, El Lissitzky, and Issachar Ber Rybak) and theatre set designers (including Nisn Shifrin who worked at the Berezil theatre headed by Les Kurbas, and Boris Aronson, later a stage designer on Broadway and at the Metropolitan Opera). The author describes how—on one of his trips to Moscow in the 1960s in search of Ukrainian art (as Head Custodian

of the Ukrainian Art Museum)—he discovered about a thousand of Epshtein's drawings and paintings; and alludes to the Soviet authorities' negative attitude at that time to abstract art, as well as towards Jews.

Parallels in Ukrainian and Jewish "National Styles" in Art in the First Third of the Twentieth Century

Vita Susak (Lviv National Gallery of Art)

Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the creation of "national styles" in art, which built on the contemporary penchant for historicism and eclecticism, even while searching for a new art style. At the same time, art was responding to a certain social demand by peoples who were in the process of active nation building. The Jewish and Ukrainian "national styles" took shape under similar socio-historical conditions, around the same time, and in the same geographic places. An important feature they shared was the assertion of their particular ethnic culture in the light of restrictions imposed by empires and dominant nations. Artistic "schools" emerged for both the Ukrainian and Jewish "national styles" (for example, Boichukism and the Kultur-Lige) and there was a degree of interaction between their artists and similarities in their works. In both the Ukrainian and the Jewish cases, ideologues for the creation of national styles were convinced that these should be founded on form rather than on themes, and that form should be derived from the nation's heritage—in particular folk art—while reflecting contemporary reality. Attitudes toward the architects of the "national projects" were ambivalent at the time and the avant-garde criticized them. Nonetheless, these phenomena, which illustrate clear parallels and similarities in Ukrainian and Jewish art, have found their place in art history of the twentieth century—the century in which both peoples attained statehood.

Oleksandr Dovzhenko and Jewish Mythology

Serhii Trymbach (President, Filmmakers' Union of Ukraine, Kyiv)

In the films and texts of Oleksandr Dovzhenko one can find numerous fragments inspired by mythology, including Jewish mythology. In this regard, he continued a trend in Ukrainian tradition adopted by Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, and

others. Especially prevalent is the use of clear allusions to Jewish biblical stories, in particular eschatological and messianic themes, and the application of these themes to the contemporary Ukrainian experience. Dovzhenko's approach may be explained in part by his connections with the avant-garde movement, which drew extensively from mythology, including from the Jewish tradition. Eschatological and messianic themes resonated for Dovzhenko because he was profoundly affected by the speed of radical changes in the social order, the tragic Ukrainian experience in the 1930s, and World War II, as well as by a sense that Ukraine had a historic mission. In the film *Earth* (1930), propaganda about the advantages of the collective economy gave way to mythologies about the farming cycle (e.g., the impregnation of Mother Earth) and redemption. In this and other works, Dovzhenko blended Slavic pagan cosmogony with elements of Christian-Jewish mythology, as well as new features coming from Bolshevik ideology. Despite the dissonance of these disparate sources, Dovzhenko painted a grand mythological picture of national revival within the context of an apocalyptic worldview and highlighted the power of art to uplift humankind.

PART 3

CROSS-CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN LANGUAGE AND MUSIC

Aspects of Ukrainian-Yiddish Language Contact

Wolf Moskovich (Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

The close contact between Ukrainian and Yiddish over the last five centuries left an indelible imprint on all levels of the Yiddish language and also contributed many Yiddish loanwords and loan translations to the Ukrainian language—dialects and sociolects, in particular. The Yiddish language is permeated with hundreds of borrowed and calqued Ukrainian words and expressions. There is also the phenomenon of synergetic influence of Yiddish and Ukrainian on a third language, particularly in the form of regional and urban dialects. For example, in Odessa Ukrainian words and expressions entered the urban Russian speech (called Odessan jargon) often through the mediation of Yiddish. A similar

scenario played out in multiethnic Czernowitz (Chernivtsi), where the phenomenon of Bukovinian German was characterized by a supplementary admixture of localisms taken from both Yiddish and Ukrainian. Ukrainian influence is also evident in Jewish surnames, many of which are identical with Ukrainian surnames. Other Jewish surnames were created by combining Yiddish stems with Ukrainian suffixes. For example, the suffix -enko was common among Jews in the Kyivan region and the suffix -iuk among Jews in Galicia.
Also noteworthy is the fact that around seventy percent of surnames of Ukrainian Jews derive from the names of towns or villages in Ukraine. Jewish folk music in Ukraine also shows the clear influence of Ukrainian, as is evident in a number of bilingual Ukrainian–Yiddish songs.

Ukrainian Influence on Hasidic Music

Lyudmila Sholokhova (YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York)

In Eastern Europe, Jewish music was strongly influenced by the music of the surrounding peoples. This was especially the case for Hasidic music, as Hasidism emphasized the power of music in connecting with the divine and advanced the Jewish mystical concept of redeeming or rescuing scattered holy sparks, including those trapped in “worldly tunes." As a result, Slavic—and in particular, Ukrainian—musical elements were absorbed into both the melodies and the lyrics of Hasidic songs. In addition to adopting East Slavic melodies, the Hasidim also created new ones using similar melody types or blended these with Jewish liturgical modes—for example, combining the “Pastekhl” (shepherd's flute tune) with elements of the synagogue recitative. That is why Hasidic tunes (*nigunim*) often sound like a blend of several typical Slavic melody types, creatively transformed into a Jewish music style. The Hasidim also adapted numerous Ukrainian song lyrics to their own Hasidic melodies and introduced Slavic expressions to their songs—either to create a humorous effect, or more often as an innovative way of conveying a religious message to Hasidic adherents. Techniques in the integration of "slavisms" included wordplays that transformed Ukrainian words to suit a Jewish (Yiddish) context; the use of *loshn-koydesh* (Hebrew holy language) in conjunction with Ukrainian words; and endowing original Ukrainian texts with added mystical connotations beyond the literal meaning of the words.

PART 4

REPRESENTATION OF "THE OTHER" IN LITERATURE, POPULAR CULTURE, AND PERSONAL NARRATIVES

Perceptions of the Jew in Ukrainian Literature

Myroslav Shkandrij (University of Manitoba)

An investigation of Ukrainian literature produced over the last two centuries illuminates not only how negative stereotypes of Jews were generated, but also how these were challenged and transformed. Depictions of Jews as exploitative *orendars* (leaseholders) and tavern-keepers were dominant from the 1830s to the 1880s. In the twentieth century the dominant negative images were the communist commissar and the Chekist. Such stereotypes influenced popular attitudes and later served as ideological tools—for example, reappearing in popular dramas and ideological anti-Semitic writing in the late 1930s and early 1940s; and in the anti-Semitic publications of MAUP (a non-governmental college that became a centre of institutionalized anti-Semitism) in 2005-06. However, there is also a tradition of empathetic depiction of Jews in Ukrainian literature—for example, in popular plays of the 1890s and in pre-1917 modernist literature. This positive stance continued in works published during the revolutionary years and the period of Ukrainian statehood when Jews were seen as allies of Ukrainians—a rapprochement that ended following the wave of pogroms in 1919. Co-operation between Ukrainian and Jewish writers and intellectuals continued in Soviet Ukraine during the 1920s, as each group developed its own cultural movement. Several twentieth-century Jewish writers (Hrytsko Kernerenko, Raisa Troianker, Leonid Pervomaisky, and Moisei Fishbein) gave expression to both their Jewish and Ukrainian identities. While the Holocaust and Jewish particularisms were taboo subjects in postwar Soviet literature, these themes have emerged in Ukrainian literature since independence, as writers try to dismantle stereotypes and fashion an inclusive cultural identity.

Between the Marketplace and Enlightenment: Gogol and Rabinovich's Ukrainian Memory Space

Amelia Glaser (University of California in San Diego)

The literary influence that the Ukrainian-born Russian writer Nikolai Gogol had on one of his readers, the celebrated Ukrainian-born Yiddish humourist Solomon Rabinovich (Sholem Aleichem) is remarkable—both for the commonalities it reveals and the inevitably different perspectives they had on Jews in the Russian Empire's Pale of Settlement. Both reach out to wider audiences but focus on the provincial Ukrainian marketplace or fair as a place of collective memory, where various ethnic groups interact and where dangers lurk. Both use humour to mask these dangers, and share the "tears through laughter" trope. However, Jews crop up around the margins of Gogol's stories, mostly as negative caricatures—as crafty marketplace experts and professional intervenors who profit against all odds. Rabinovich reworked Gogol's themes for a Jewish audience, creating characters that are at times a foil to Gogol's anti-Semitic stereotypes, for example, depicting them as failures at trade. Both writers react to the perceived soul-destroying commercialism, materialism, and dangerous influences of the marketplace and express ambivalence and fear about the impact of the enlightenment and the outside world. However, while Gogol's marketplace is ridden with dangers that threaten the Slavic spirit and which are attributed in part to the presence of Jews, for Rabinovich the Ukrainian marketplace is depicted as a site of increasingly frequent physical danger to Jews and a spur to emigration.

The Image of "the Other" in World War II Memoirs of Lviv Citizens

Ola Hnatiuk (Warsaw University)

Using a variety of sources, the article examines inter-ethnic relations in the year 1939—in particular between Ukrainians, Poles, and Jews—as remembered by representative members of these three ethnic groups. The analysis focuses on three issues: perspectives on the war, attitudes toward the intrusion of the Red Army, and images of the Red Army soldier. Citations backing the different perceptions indicate that these depend on the cultural identity of the authors and

the stereotypes through which they perceived the other ethnic groups. Perceptions include: the Polish conviction that the other ethnic minorities behaved disloyally to the Polish state; the shared Polish/Ukrainian view that Jews collaborated most closely with the Bolshevik regime and happily greeted the arrival of Red Army; and the view on the part of Jews (and some Poles and Ukrainians) that Jews were subjected to the same propaganda and Sovietization experience as other ethnic groups. In analysing each citation, one should examine the circumstances in which it was said; what propaganda purposes it served, and the group with which the author was identifying at the time (whether through the lens of Ukrainian or Polish nationalistic discourse, or official Soviet propaganda). Similarly, images of the Soviet soldier vary—from brave and fearless to weak and farcical. An overall conclusion is that the more dramatic the experience that the individual had, the stronger was the tendency to describe their own specific experience as dominating the particular ethnic group's narrative of heroes and martyrs. In such a narrative, the author's individual suffering acquires foremost prominence, while "the Other" is accused of causing all the sorrows—and who is designated "the Other" certainly depends on the identity of the author.

Ukrainian-Jewish Relations as Depicted in Narrative Accounts of Former Carpatho-Rusyn Jews in Israel

Ilana Rosen (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva)

Narratives told by former Carpatho-Rusyn Jewish Holocaust survivors, who are now senior Israelis, reveal much about how non-Jews from that region are remembered by their Jewish past neighbours. While Hungarians loom large in these narratives and Czechs feature mainly as government officials, their everyday neighbours were more often Ukrainians—also referred to as Rusyns and Ruthenians. These *goyim* (Gentiles) are remembered as rural, traditional, and religious, and in some instances as exceptionally devoted and familiar with Jewish religious traditions (for example, the devoted Gentile governess who teaches the children Jewish customs and prayers, or the Gentile woman neighbour who is more earnest about Passover religious practices than her Jewish neighbour). Though more preoccupied with their inner and communal life than with external realities, Carpatho-Rusyn Jews were aware of and interacted with the non-Jews around them, in particular local villagers. They were also aware, however, of charged issues such as the blood libel and differences in religion, which they viewed with curiosity, and at times with fear

and repulsion. Nonetheless, even charged encounters are remembered with humour. Also conveyed in these narratives is the sense of deliberate self-segregation on the part of the Jewish narrators, though it should be taken into account that these narratives provide one-sided depictions of a life that ended disastrously some fifty years before the narration.

PART 5

THE STUDY, PRESERVATION, COMMEMORATION, AND REVIVAL OF INTEREST IN THE UKRAINIAN-JEWISH CULTURAL HERITAGE

Departure and Comeback: Ethnographic Expeditions to Shtetls in Podolia and Volhynia in 1912/1914, the 1980s, and 2004–2008

Valerii Dymshits (Center Petersburg Judaica, St. Petersburg, Russia)

This article compares and contrasts three sets of ethnographic expeditions, beginning with the one led by S. An-sky in 1912-14, which focused on the folklore, music, and collective memory of Jews in the Pale of Settlement, largely in southwestern Ukraine. The second, undertaken by a group of young enthusiasts from Petersburg beginning in the late 1980s, deliberately followed An-sky's route, also pursuing social and cultural objectives, but lacking the erudition, professional training, or knowledge of Yiddish. While An-sky was interested in the life of contemporary Jewish communities, the Petersburg group was looking at remnants of the past in *shtetls* where hardly any Jews remained. By the time of the expeditions in the mid-2000s, the Petersburg group was joined by researchers from Moscow and had acquired knowledge in Jewish history and culture, as well as professional expertise. The timing, however, coincided with the passing of the last generation that remembered the pre-revolutionary era and still knew Yiddish, as well as the near disappearance of remaining Jewish communities following mass emigration in the 1990s. They turned, therefore, to interviewing the Ukrainian population to capture memories retained of former Jewish neighbours. Like An-sky, they explored Slavic folklore and the subject of inter-ethnic relations, in particular, the role and place of Jews in Ukrainian folklore and in the everyday life, religious beliefs, and cultural notions of the Ukrainian population, as well as mutual influences and shared traditions. The most recent expeditions have resulted in a significant oral history audio archive and a series of publications.

Traditional Jewish Art and Ukrainian Art Historians: Collection, Preservation and Research in the Czarist, Soviet, and Post-Soviet Periods

Benyamin Lukin (Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem)

This paper outlines the main stages of the exploration of traditional Jewish art by Ukrainian art historians from the 1910s through the 1930s and beyond. Among the first was Hryhorii Pavlutsky, an outstanding researcher of wooden architecture in Ukraine, whose view that Jewish art and architecture derived from oriental art traditions over-influenced subsequent perspectives. Until stifled in the 1930s, Soviet Ukrainianization policies inspired a surge of professional interest in folk art, museums, and research, including the field of Judaica, engaging personalities such as Danylo Shcherbakivsky, Pavlo Zholtovsky, and George Loukomsky. The results include photograph collections (including carved tombstones and the exteriors and interiors of synagogues), artefact collections (such as manuscripts and synagogue textiles), and art history publications. While their achievements in describing the objects of Jewish traditional art are deservedly acknowledged, their work has also been criticized for a tendency to generalize, the uncritical repetition of conclusions reached by previous generations of researchers, and the lack of knowledge of Jewish tradition or the relevant context for research. More significantly, however, their documentation of Jewish art and architecture has provided a valuable record of the world of Jewish creativity that was destroyed in the Holocaust. It should also be mentioned that Jewish art research in independent Ukraine over the past twenty years has built on their work, resulting in further discovery, description and cataloguing of Jewish monuments, museum exhibits, and collections of Judaica, as well as related archival documents.

Judaica at the Lviv Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts: History, Contents, and the Current Situation

Roman Chmelyk (Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts, Lviv)

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of various historical and ethnographic museums on the territory of contemporary Ukraine. By the turn of the century, several Lviv museums were also assembling Jewish ethnographic and artistic items. Private collectors such as Maximilian Goldstein

had a significant impact, and measures were undertaken also within the Lviv Jewish community to study, preserve, and popularize Jewish culture. In 1933 a large-scale exhibition of Jewish culture at the Lviv Museum of Artistic Crafts provided the impetus for the creation of the Jewish Museum of Galicia in 1934. This museum was closed under the Soviet occupation in 1939. After the German occupation in 1941, the Goldstein collection was transferred to the repository of the Museum of Artistic Crafts. The Museum's Judaica collection was substantially enlarged following the creation of the Lviv Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Crafts in 1951 and the efforts of art historian Pavlo Zholtovsky. Today the Museum holds an immense Judaica collection that encompasses ritual objects from the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries, as well as items of everyday usage and art works. Under Soviet rule, there was little interest in the collection. Since Ukraine's independence, state institutions began to popularize the cultural heritage of Ukraine’s national minorities. In the 1990s, the Museum organized exhibitions in Lviv, Moscow, Kyiv, Kraków, and Tel Aviv (where the exhibition encountered a property claim, which did not succeed). In the 2000s the Museum cooperated in exhibits of Galician Judaica in several eastern Ukrainian cities, Germany, Austria, and especially in Poland.

Modern Jewish Museums in Ukraine

Leonid Finberg (Jewish Studies Center, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy)

New Jewish museums have been established in several cities in Ukraine since Ukrainian independence. This article describes these museums in some detail, including their content, the background to their creation, the personalities involved, and the challenges they faced. Also embedded in the account are reflective observations on the role of museums in society and, in particular, of Jewish museums in post-Holocaust, post-Soviet Ukraine. The first such museum, categorized as a local lore museum, is Odessa's Jewish Museum. Functioning since 2002 and linked organizationally to the city's contemporary community, this museum draws on the rich story of turn-of-the-century Odessa as a centre of Modern Hebrew and Yiddish literature and Jewish nationalism. The Jewish Museum of Chernivtsi, created in 2008 at the initiative of Jewish community leader Josef Zissels, has a regional focus, telling the story of the Jews of Bukovina up to World War II. Its outreach activities include a history booklet and virtual museum. The ambitious project to create in Dnipro (formerly

Dnipropetrovsk) a museum of Ukrainian Jewish history and culture seeks to raise awareness among the wider Ukrainian public about the Jewish religious heritage and culture, Jewish history in Ukraine as part of Ukrainian history (with special attention to the Second World War period), Jewish artistic expression, and contemporary Jewish life in Ukraine. Also described are the Holocaust Museum in Kharkiv and the Sholem Aleichem Museum in Kyiv. A key challenge faced by all these museums is long-term viability because such private initiatives lack guarantees as well as professionals with the needed expertise in Jewish history and culture to work in them.

The Challenge of Recovering Historical Memory and the Cultural Context: Reintegrating the Jewish Past into the History and Culture of Galicia

Taras Vozniak (Editor, Ji Magazine, Lviv)

One of the most pressing tasks of Ukrainian society is to recover the country's historical memory and cultural context, which was either destroyed or lost over seventy years of Sovietization. The creation of the “Soviet person” and the “new historical community of the Soviet people” led to expunging from the historical memory entire cultural layers, so that the current dominant population is no longer aware of the past or even current presence of Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, and Jewish cultural communities in the region. These communities formed significant elements of the urban landscape prior to the establishment of Soviet power, ethnic cleansings, and the Holocaust. How can you restore in Ukrainian memory the pre-existing cultural contexts, despite the absence of carriers of these contexts? More specifically, how can one make current residents of Galicia identify with the entire cultural heritage of the region—Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish? The NGO independent cultural journal *Ji* has attempted to address this lacuna in Ukrainian memory by dedicating several issues of *Ji* to Jewish history in Galicia, in particular, the many *shtetls* or small towns where Jews constituted a significant proportion of the population, and in this way to reconstruct, at least virtually, the world that constitutes an important component of the Galician identity.

PART 6

PERSPECTIVES ON DIVIDED MEMORY AND DIALOGUE

Sharing the Divided Past: Symbols, Commemorations, and Representations at Babyn Yar

Georgii Kasianov (Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv)

This article describes how the mass killings that took place in 1941-43 at Babyn Yar were represented in different memorialization and commemorative projects, from Soviet times to independent Ukraine. Following several aborted initial efforts begun as early as 1945, a campaign for the commemoration of the victims at Babyn Yar was initiated during Khrushchev's "Thaw" by intellectuals in Kyiv and Moscow. This led to a closed competition, a memorial stone to "the Soviet people, victims of the crimes of fascism," and eventually an official memorial monument in July 1976, which again avoided mention of the Jewish victims. Since 1991, the Soviet narrative has been replaced by competing memory projects. A *Menorah* monument to the Jewish victims was soon followed by two crosses, one dedicated to members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists shot by the Germans, another to two murdered Orthodox priests. A controversial proposal to construct a Jewish community "Heritage" centre in the early 2000s has been countered with presidential decrees to establish a state-owned historical-cultural "sanctuary Babyn Yar" to be followed by a memorial museum, among other projects. Meanwhile, the Babyn Yar terrain has been gradually "populated" by additional commemorative signs and monuments, including the monument to children murdered at Babyn Yar, the monument to *Ostarbeiters*, and a plate indicating where a monument dedicated to the Roma victims will be erected. Babyn Yar has thus become a "battlefield" for competing memory projects.

Jewish-Christian Dialogue and Jewish-Ukrainian Relations: The Burdens of History and Prospects for the Future

Myroslav Marynovych (Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv)

Because of forced atheism in the Soviet Union in the twentieth century, attempts at Jewish-Christian dialogue in Ukraine since the late 1990s have constantly been reduced to a Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue at a secular level. The prevailing secular approach to combating anti-Semitism with well-thought-out educational measures is not proving to be successful, as is clear from the fact that anti-Semitism still persists. There is, however, the opportunity now to make known in Ukraine the achievements of the worldwide Jewish-Christian dialogue since the 1960s, which has greater potential to contribute to inter-ethnic understanding than the purely secular approach. Particularly significant is the assertion that the biblical narration includes reports not only about the persecution of the Jews, but also about their glorification—which implies that the nations should not merely renounce anti-Semitism, but rather should receive the Jews as a blessing. In this light, the Second Vatican Council and the revolutionary conciliar document *Nostra Aetate* condemned the persecution of Jews and advocated desisting from attempts to convert Jews to Christianity. The biblical perspective calls for a rethinking of Christianity as born in the bosom of Judaism and counteracts harmful notions relating to forced conversion of Jews based on disdain for Judaism, while leaving room for the evangelization (or re-evangelization) of the Jews *from within the Jewish tradition*. Both communities need conversion, but they need a true conversion—not a "conversion to Christianity" and not a "capitulation before Judaism," but a genuine conversion to one God, which does not call out unfortunate demons of the past, such as the pride of being the only right one and the aggression of religious prejudices.

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